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ABSTRACT

The outgoing Pennsylvania Secretary of Education reviews the accomplishments of the department of education during his tenure--1972-77. All areas, from elementary through postsecondary, are covered. Particular emphasis is placed on student achievement, declining enrollment, and finance. (IRT)

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JOHN C. PITTENGER

PROGRESS AND PROBLEMS IN EDUCATION

A REPORT TO THE PEOPLE OF PENNSYLVANIA

EA 010 231

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Pennsylvania Department of Education 1977

My fellow citizens:

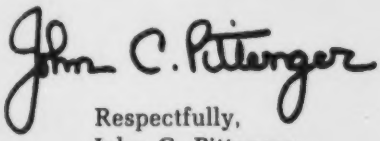
In leaving the position of Secretary of Education, which I have held for five years, it occurs to me that I have some obligation to render an account to you of my stewardship of this office. Hence this report.

It is not an unbiased account, because I cannot separate myself from my convictions about many of the matters which I will be discussing. In that sense it is a "partisan" document, presenting my own views about public education in Pennsylvania from 1972 to 1977.

I owe special thanks to a number of people—and first and foremost to Governor Milton J. Shapp. Few governors would have been willing to trust the management of a department which spends over half the general fund budget to anyone with my lack of "credentials." For that trust, and his continuing support, I am deeply grateful.

Under our system—unique among the fifty states—the Secretary of Education serves not only as a member of the Governor's Cabinet, but also as chief executive officer of the State Board of Education. It was my good fortune to serve a State Board that is, in my judgment, as good as any in the country. They deserve the thanks of many who are unaware of their services of the commonwealth.

Finally, I am grateful to the many Pennsylvanians from all walks of life who helped make these past five years most rewarding. I trust that you will find in these pages grounds both for concern and for some optimism about the future of public education in our state.



Respectfully,
John C. Pittenger

Pittwillow Farm
Chester County, Pennsylvania
April 1977

Part I. BASIC EDUCATION

A. ACCOMPLISHMENTS

1. General Education

In general, what is the condition of basic education in Pennsylvania?

To that question, there is no easy or simple answer. That we can even begin to answer it we owe to the General Assembly and to the State Board of Education and their foresight in requiring the department (long before "assessment" had become a catchword) to begin a program of testing to discover whether we were achieving a "quality education" for the young men and women of the state.

After several years of voluntary testing, the State Board mandated in the summer of 1973 that testing take place in the 5th, 8th and 11th grades in every district in the state during the three-year period 1973-1976. That first round of testing is now complete, and the board has ordered a moratorium during 1976-1977 for the revision of test instruments. What have we found out?

In general the results in 1974-75 showed no overall trend toward improvement or decline. The tests measure student learning and development in ten different areas. Results in these two years showed that children in the early primary grades were performing quite well and showing improvement. The scores began declining in the later primary grades and fell farther among junior and senior high school students. The 1976 results are more depressing. Scores by children at all three levels—5th, 8th and 11th—fell in comparison to those of the children who took the tests in 1974-75.

Before drawing hasty conclusions from the 1976 scores, several factors should be noted. The children who took the 1976 tests are not the same as those who took the 1975 tests. The 1976 program included more urban and minority children. The lower scores probably do not reflect a sudden decline across the state. They suggest what many other testing programs have shown: that urban and minority children on the aver-

age perform somewhat more poorly than others.

Of course, that is no reason to discount the test, nor does it hide the fact that the tests in the last three years—aside from some early primary grade data—have shown no dramatic *improvements* in student learning and development.

I think it fair to say, then, that the test results pose a serious challenge: what can be done to help students progress more consistently during their school years?

Meeting the challenge would be much easier if we knew the causes of student success and failure. Opinions abound: television has changed our learning habits; the schools are too lax and have abandoned basics; the home makes the difference; teachers lack dedication; administrators bog us down in paperwork.

My own view is that it is fruitless to hunt for a single cause. Our schools and our learning habits have always reflected and been influenced by our society and culture. Consistent success by all students in the schools will depend on a consistent and cooperative partnership between the home, the school and the wider community. Yes, we must teach reading, writing and mathematics more vigorously in school. No, that will not produce more competent students unless parents demand good reading habits at home and employers stress the role of lucid writing (and use it, for instance, in insurance policies, government regulations, and state and federal law). Yes, the schools should teach responsible citizenship; but, no, that will not produce better citizens unless we have more truth in advertising, more integrity in business and government, and better communication between parent and child.

The state of the schools—like the rest of society—is fragmented. We do many things very, very well. We do many things badly.

We need now some sober analysis and support for what we are doing well and sober analysis of our failings.

I believe the work we have begun in the department under Project 81 could move us along that path. I'll discuss that more fully below (see Page 22).

2. Vocational Education

We have made slow but steady progress in improving both the quantity and quality of vocational education available to young men and women in this state. Aided by the end of the draft and a poor market for college graduates, we have begun to move away from

the view that kids who do not continue their education beyond high school are somehow inferior citizens.

Our progress began with the passage of the state Vocational Education Act of 1963 in Governor Scranton's Administration. Since then we have built 76 new vocational-technical schools, covering more than 90 percent of the state. Today very few senior high school students are outside the range of a vocational-technical high school and the course offerings have expanded considerably.

The number of high school students enrolled in vocational-technical programs has increased steadily, from 28.7 percent in 1970-71 to 34 percent (not counting useful home economics) in 1975-76 (see Chart 1). While this is a cause for rejoicing, there are still serious weaknesses. For one thing, the number of young men and women finding employment in fields for which they had been trained is not as high as we would like—only 22 percent in 1975-76 (see Chart 2). Whether that will change in good times it is too soon to tell. Moreover, too many girls are studying cosmetology and too many boys are in auto mechanics courses; both fields are overcrowded and are not likely to lead to gainful employment. On the other hand, some of the more technical fields are undersubscribed. All of this involves a delicate balance between the needs of society on the one hand and individual choice on the other. I'm not sure that we've got the balance right, but we've made some progress and can reasonably hope to reach our goal, i.e., that by 1980, at least half of our graduating seniors will have occupational skills which they have learned in the public schools of Pennsylvania.

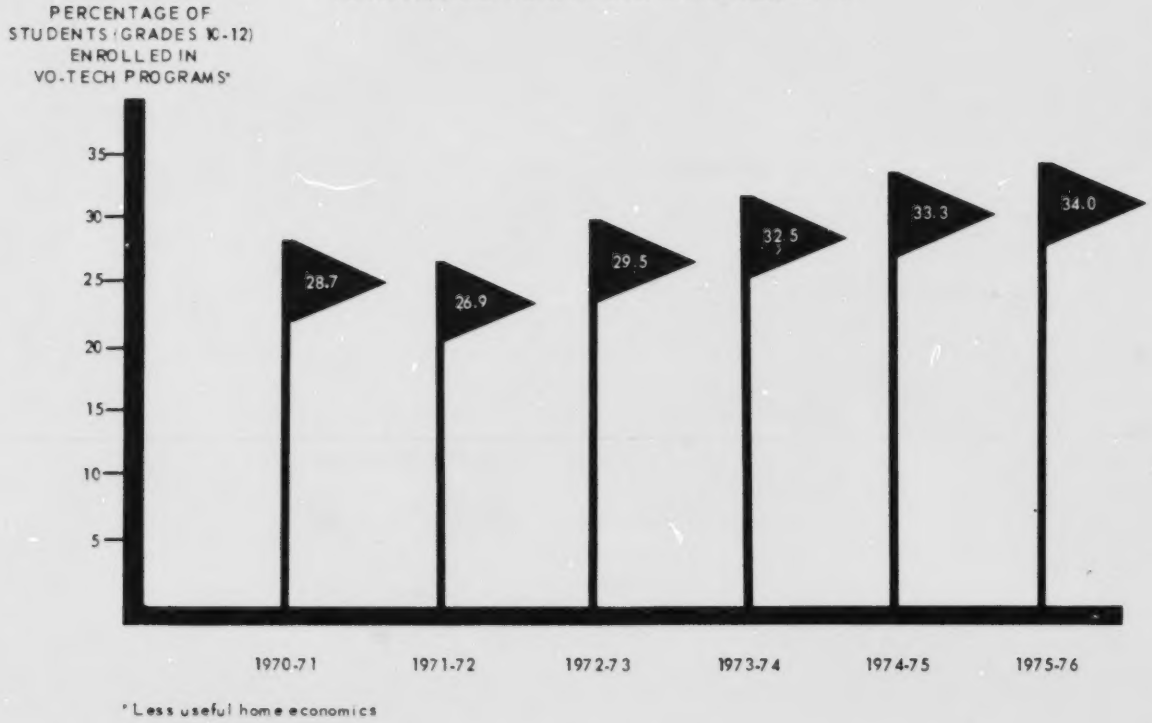
3. Special Education

I had not been in office more than a couple of weeks before I faced (not for the last time) major decisions relating to the education of handicapped children.

The Pennsylvania Association for Retarded Children (PARC) had filed a lawsuit against the Commonwealth of Pennsylvania claiming that handicapped children were being denied equal protection because they did not have access to appropriate forms of education. The then Attorney General of Pennsylvania, J. Shane Cramer, and I believed that PARC's allegations were essentially correct and that we could not in good conscience defend the suit. Our views prevailed with the Governor, and early in 1972, we signed

CHART 1

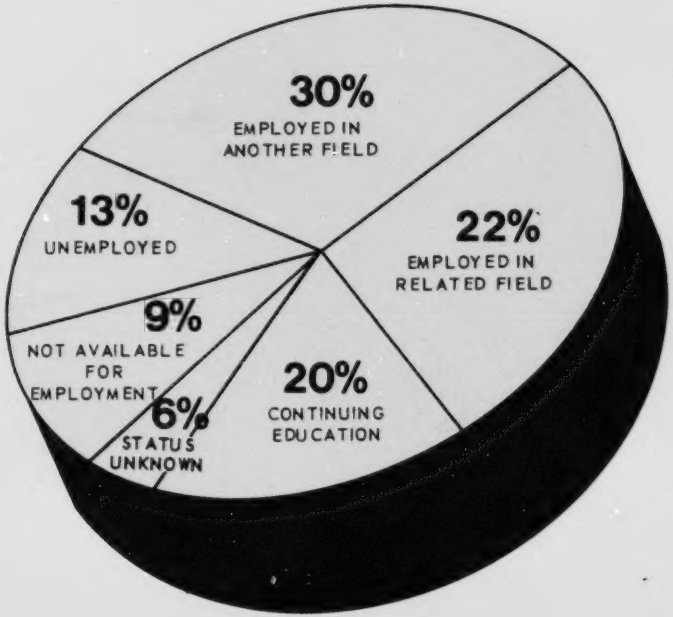
VOCATIONAL-TECHNICAL ENROLLMENTS



*Less useful home economics

CHART 2

VOCATIONAL-TECHNICAL
GRADUATES
1975-76



the famous consent decree which has largely governed the education of handicapped children in Pennsylvania since that day.

I will not review here all of the difficulties we encountered in identifying the children, in testing and evaluating them and in providing appropriate learning environments. While there have been enormous difficulties, I think that the Shapp Administration, the State Board and the General Assembly can take pride in the fact that Pennsylvania has been in the forefront of states across the nation trying to ensure that every handicapped child has access to an appropriate educational program.

Although the PARC decree applied by its terms only to the education of the mentally retarded, the logic of the case required an extension of these same guarantees to other classes of handicapped children. This was done by the State Board of Education in 1975. We are now in the midst of what promises to be a long drawn-out process of promulgating standards by which to measure the suitability of local programs for handicapped children.

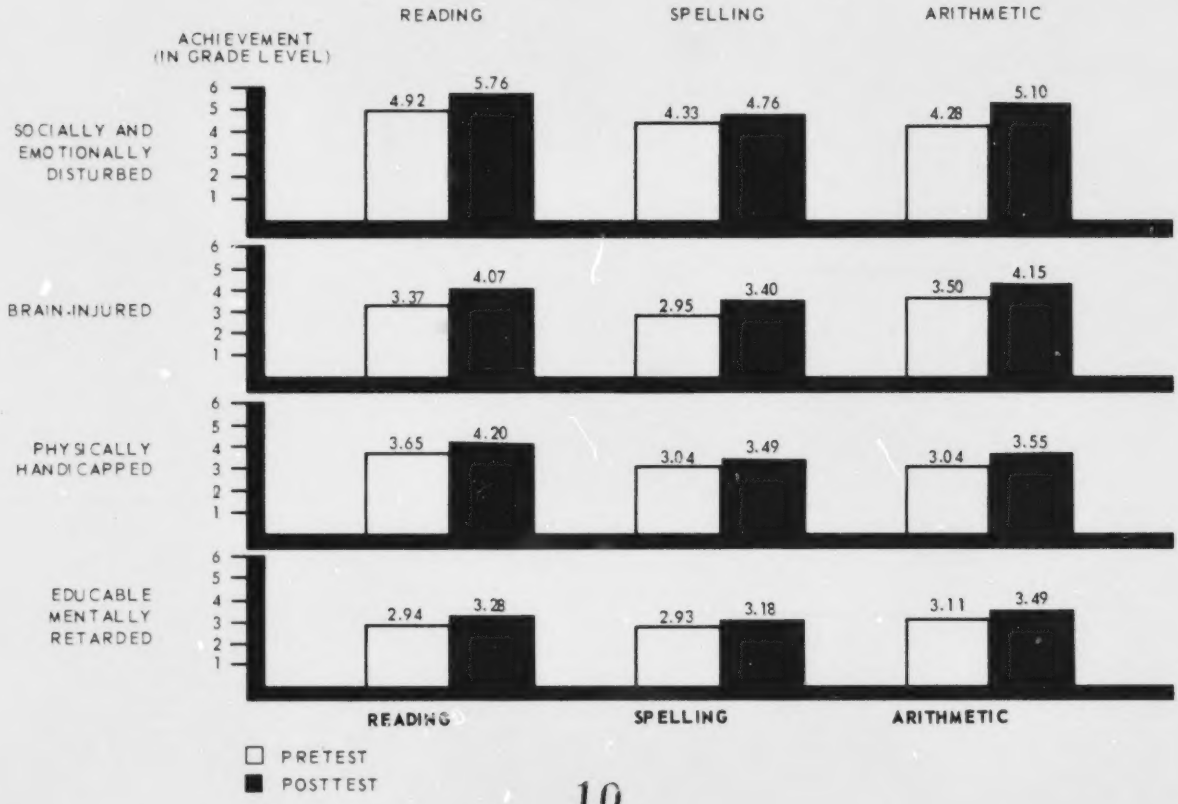
The cost of educating handicapped children has increased enormously over the past five years, from $98 million in state and local money in 1971-72 to $250 million in 1976-77. A number of people, including myself, have raised serious questions from time to time about the results of these greatly increased expenditures. We are now beginning to get some answers. In a study whose results were released only in December of 1976, researchers for the Department of Education tested 3,500 handicapped children chosen at random across the state at six-month intervals. Their findings are encouraging: most of these children made significant gains in social maturity, in many cases exceeding even a full year in this six-month period and, despite their (in some cases) very serious handicaps, achieved academic gains rivaling those of normal children (see Chart 3). While these results need to be treated with a certain degree of caution, they nevertheless suggest that we have a right to be mildly optimistic about the possibility of many handicapped people entering into gainful employment or at least leading lives of dignity. In the long run, also, the state will begin to save money because of the diminishing cost of custodial care.

4. School Subsidy Increases and Reform

In the summer of 1971 and again in the summer of

CHART 3

SPECIAL EDUCATION ACHIEVEMENT GAINS



1974, the General Assembly, with Governor Shapp's strong support, amended the school subsidy formula in various ways to bring the level of state funding back to approximately the 50 percent level that has long been accepted as desirable. I should emphasize that these amendments did *not* involve a fresh look at the philosophy of the subsidy system; that has been done this year (1977) for the first time since the Scranton Administration (see below).

As a result of these changes, and the willingness of the Shapp Administration and the General Assembly to raise the revenues necessary to support them, the level of state support for public schools has risen markedly over the past six years (see Chart 4). For three straight years we have not had a single distressed school district in Pennsylvania, i.e., one which is unable to meet its bills. At a time when school systems all over the country are closing for lack of funds, this is a major achievement.

We have achieved (at least for the time being) solvency—but we have not attained equity. A situation has developed in which wealthy districts, taxing themselves at moderate rates, are able to spend upwards of $1,500 per pupil per year; poor districts, taxing themselves much more heavily, are barely able to spend half that amount. And the situation is getting worse rather than better (see Chart 5).

The resulting situation is not only unfair, it is quite possibly unconstitutional. Even though the Supreme Court has rejected the notion that inequities in school finance raise a federal constitutional question, state supreme courts in California and New Jersey and lower courts in several other states have been hospitable to claims based on state constitutions, and the language in the Pennsylvania Constitution is identical (the state must provide a "thorough and efficent" education) to the language on which the New Jersey case was decided.

Accordingly, I asked the State Board of Education, early in 1976, for authority to make a thorough study of the present subsidy system. This they did. The results were placed before the State Board of Education in November of 1976 and made public shortly thereafter. Without going into great detail, I can say I think our proposed reforms, if enacted, would result in a system that is far more equitable than the present one and that holds out a greater promise of achieving measurable educational results.

It is now fairly clear (April 1977) that neither the Governor nor the General Assembly is prepared to

CHART 4

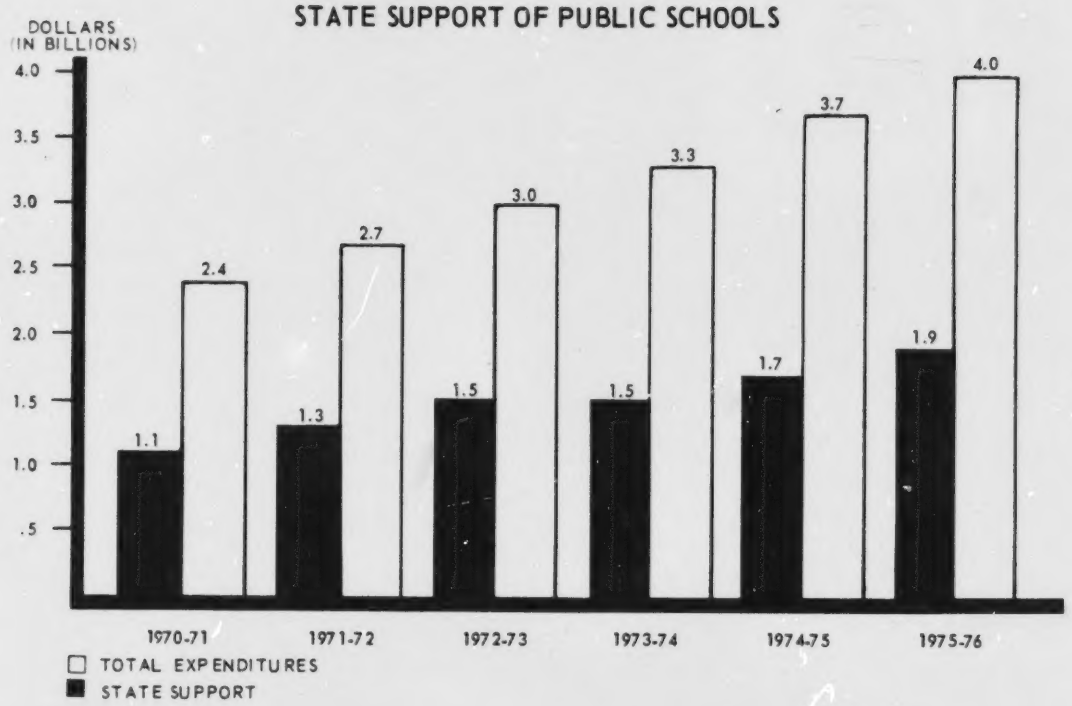

STATE SUPPORT OF PUBLIC SCHOOLS
DOLLARS (IN BILLIONS)
4.0
3.5
3.0
2.5
2.0
1.5
1.0
.5
1.1
2.4
1.3
2.7
1.5
3.0
1.5
3.3
1.7
3.7
1.9
4.0
1970-71
1971-72
1972-73
1973-74
1974-75
1975-76
TOTAL EXPENDITURES
STATE SUPPORT

CHART 5

INEQUITIES IN SCHOOL SPENDING

	HIGH-WEALTH DISTRICT*	MEDIUM-WEALTH DISTRICT*	LOW-WEALTH DISTRICT*
AID RATIO	1638	.5194	.7596
LOCAL TAX (MILLS)	21	25.8	32.1
STATE AID (PER PUPIL)	$357	$456	$596
LOCAL REVENUES (PER PUPIL)	$924	$583	$395
TOTAL REVENUES AVAILABLE (PER PUPIL)	$1281	$1039	$991

*EXAMPLES USED ARE ACTUAL CASES.

support the tax increases which would be needed to carry out our proposed reforms. Short-term solutions are the order of the day. Nonetheless, citizens of the state should tell their legislators to reject, even as a short-run solution, any subsidy changes which do not embody at least these elements of reform:

(a) they decrease the gap between poor and wealthy districts;

(b) they decrease reliance on the real property tax for the support of public education;

(c) they measure ability to pay in terms of income as well as ownership of real property;

(d) they take into account "municipal overburden," i.e., the fact that school boards face differing degrees of competition with municipal governments for the revenues from real property taxes; and

(e) they give some reasonable hope of improving the quality of education, i.e., they do not just involve spending more money for the same results.

The measure we have suggested would lessen somewhat the present dependence on the real estate tax as the chief source of *local* revenue for the support of public schools. In the end I am convinced that we must go even further and eliminate the real estate tax as the source of funds for public schools. The schools are competing for property tax revenues with municipal governments which are more logically entitled to them; that is, there is a more immediate relationship between the ownership of property on the one hand and the need for the police, fire and other services of local governments than there is between the ownership of property and the provision of public education. For that and other reasons, I'm convinced that we must move away from the present system, in which about 37 percent of the cost of the public schools is borne by the owners of real estate. I do not, however, favor total state funding, which is likely to bring with it a degree of state control of public policy which (peace to my critics) even I would find inadvisable.

5. School Code Revision

Within six months of becoming Secretary, I concluded that the present school code, which had been last revised in 1949 (with large parts of the 1911 code surviving intact), badly needed to be rewritten.

We faced two major policy questions: who should do it, and how extensive a job should it be? We decided after some debate to try to do the job ourselves, with a minimum of outside help. I think that was the correct decision; we probably saved the taxpayers somewhere in the neighborhood of $200,000 and got a better product than we would have if we had "farmed out" the whole thing.

The other policy decision was more controversial. Certain groups, chiefly the Pennsylvania School Boards Association, thought we should not try to rewrite the code but just rearrange most of the present text in more logical ways. The majority view, with which I concurred, was that we had to go beyond that —indeed, that the chief weakness of the 1949 revision had been its failure to come to grips with obsolete and irrelevant material in the 1911 code.

For a year, internal task forces in the department worked over each chapter of the code. Another year was spent reviewing the draft with selected school districts and with the various statewide education groups. The resulting document, 433 pages long (but far shorter than the present code), was put before the General Assembly in the spring of 1975. The House and Senate Education Committees held extensive hearings, and the House Education Committee, by agreement, began to discuss and revise the bill extensively in the fall of 1976.

Two major factors hindered passage of the code during the 1975-76 session. One was the hullabaloo caused by school board attempts to prove that the new code would be excessively costly. While a staff study by the House Appropriations Committee appeared to show the contrary, the school board propaganda took its toll. The other obstacle took the form of an assumption on the part of the Pennsylvania State Education Association that it could rewrite the personnel chapter of the code to suit its own fancy. This it proceeded to do, with the acquiescence of a majority of the members of the House Education Committee. Some of the resulting changes fueled controversy over the costs of the new code and contributed in the end to its not being enacted during the 1975-76 session.

I am convinced that if the General Assembly will come to grips with the code in a timely fashion in the 1977-78 session, and if the school boards and the teachers unions abandon some of their more extreme positions, we can, in fact, have a modern school code by the end of 1978.

6. School Construction

Governor Shapp had campaigned for the governorship in 1970 on a platform which condemned the building of large and excessively expensive public school buildings, or "Taj Mahals" as they came to be known.

A bill was introduced in the General Assembly and passed during the first two years of his administration which put certain limits on the amount per pupil which could be spent in building various types of schools. The amount could be exceeded, but only by means of a referendum. Only two such referenda have been held, and in both cases the proposal was defeated. The results are clear; the number of school building projects has decreased steadily during the past five years (see Chart 6). Of course the Taj Mahal bill is not solely responsible for this result. These have been years of level and declining school enrollments; they have also been years of severe inflation in the costs of construction. Doubtless both have played their part.

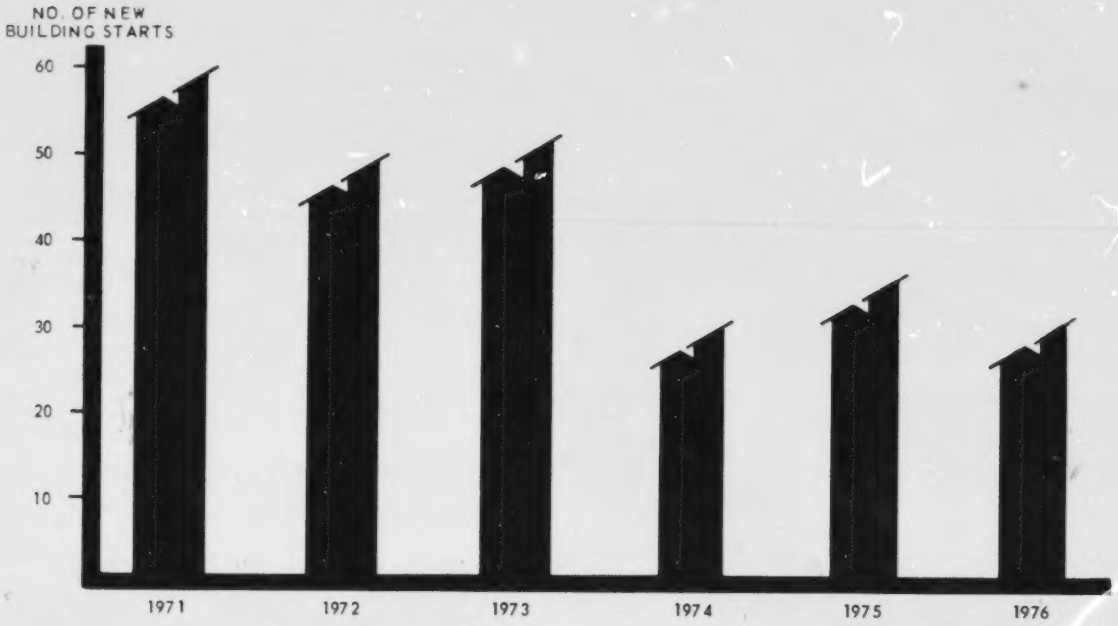
A constant criticism of the department has been that we tended to be excessively bureaucratic in dealing with school district building plans. This criticism was brought to a head in the spring of 1972 when, at a very well-attended one-day conference, a group of school officials, engineers and architects said that current regulations and procedures made it nearly impossible to use fast-tracking, component engineering and other modern building techniques. In the summer of 1973 the State Board adopted a greatly simplified set of building regulations, and the department is now on the verge of putting into effect the procedures which will carry out these simplified regulations. It has taken far too long to do all of this, but I'm nevertheless pleased that from here on out local school districts will be able to build with a great deal more flexibility than was possible under the old regulations.

7. Nonpublic Schools

The Commonwealth seems finally to have found a formula for modest contributions to nonpublic schools that will be sustained by the courts. The program involves three types of activity: (1) helping to fund the cost of transporting nonpublic school children to and from school; (2) paying for the cost of textbooks and other instructional materials which are "loaned" to the nonpublic schools; and (3) pro-

CHART 6

SCHOOL CONSTRUCTION



viding certain professional services to the pupils of nonpublic schools. We are warned by the lawyers, however, that these services may not be rendered on the premises of the nonpublic school itself.

There are certain difficulties with the present state of affairs. My own view is that the Supreme Court has been far too restrictive in these matters. Requiring us to bus nonpublic school children to a nearby public school in order that they may receive counseling and psychological services on neutral territory is silly; it forces us to spend money on transportation that we might better be spending on the services themselves. But I am resigned to this result in view of recent Supreme Court decisions.

One unhappy result of Act 372 has been a serious curtailment of public school trips for educational purposes. The Act requires transportation to be "identical," and covers field trips as well as daily transportation to and from school. A number of public schools have found it too expensive and too complicated to involve nonpublic schools in their trip plans as required by Act 372. I would hope the General Assembly would take a fresh look at this requirement, since it cannot have been the purpose of the legislation to cut down on trips to museums, art galleries, factories, seats of government and so on. This is especially distressing in view of the department's current emphasis on breaking down some of the barriers between the school and the community.

A third difficulty stems from the recent growth in the number of private day schools, especially in rural areas. Unlike similar schools in the South, they are not aimed at avoiding integrated schools. Rather they are a protest against what is seen as the "godlessness" of the public schools and their alleged abandonment of "basics."

I have no quarrel with the right of these schools to exist, and to receive the limited forms of state aid that are constitutionally permissible. But I worry about quality. Many of them are too small and too poorly funded to meet even minimum state standards. And there are difficult questions about how far the state can go (under present law) in applying these standards to church schools.

8. Student Concerns

In my first six months as Secretary, I found that although I had regular ways of communicating with most of the major interest groups in public education,

no one was around who could speak for students. I'm not naive—I don't think that students are full of wisdom—but I don't see how you can make policy for public education without at least knowing what's on their minds.

As a result I created by administrative order in the summer of 1972 a Student Advisory Board consisting of between 35 and 40 juniors and seniors drawn from the intermediate units of the state according to population. In theory, each high school names two students, a senior and a junior, to an Intermediate Unit Forum which in turn elects its own representative or representatives to the statewide board. In practice it's not as neat as that, but it doesn't work badly.

My first Student Advisory Board drafted a controversial statement of Student Rights and Responsibilities (see below). Subsequent boards have dealt with such issues as student evaluation of teachers, competency-based education, college board examinations and student discipline. They have been on the whole an extraordinarily bright and responsible group of young men and women.

The current board—my fifth—has announced its intention of seeking legislation to make their status permanent. I have warned them of the pitfalls, but they are plunging cheerfully ahead. If it does nothing else, the board is helping a very able group of Pennsylvania high school students become more sophisticated in the ways of government and politics. It ought to be supported on that score alone. I'm hoping the General Assembly will look on this venture with a kindly eye.

The first Student Advisory Board finished work on Student Rights and Responsibilities in the spring of 1973. It was an attempt to codify the rights of students relating to such matters as suspensions and expulsions, locker searches and the publication of student newspapers and to suggest that there are commensurate responsibilities. I placed the document (with many changes) before the State Board of Education in the fall of 1973. After public hearings and some additional amendments, it was adopted finally by the State Board in September of 1974.

It is perhaps the most controversial single thing I have done as Secretary. It tells you something which frankly I don't want to know—that it is controversial to say that students have constitutional rights and to try to spell those rights out in language which students themselves can understand. The controversy has exposed the fact that a good many "educators"

around this state give lip service to the needs of children, but are more interested in their own power and control.

A number of school districts, goaded by the Pennsylvania School Boards Association, have banded together to attack the authority of the State Board to issue these regulations. A decision of the Commonwealth Court has sustained their contentions. The State Board has voted to appeal to the Supreme Court of Pennsylvania. In the meantime, because of uncertainty over the validity of the regulations and our unwillingness to enforce them until that validity has been established, student rights continue to be violated with impunity in many parts of this state.

9. Physical Education and Athletics

It may seem odd that as Secretary of Education I have spent a great deal of time thinking about athletic policy. It isn't, because if you ask the average taxpayer to tell you something about the local public schools, he or she is likely to respond by telling you how the high school football team is doing. Some school boards appear to spend far more time hiring and firing coaches than they do examining, say, the quality of reading instruction in the elementary grades.

An early concern of mine was the imbalance that I saw in athletic programs in the public schools of Pennsylvania. That imbalance took several forms: it stressed the needs of secondary children at the expense of elementary; it put a much higher premium on training the 10 percent who are athletically talented than on the other 90 percent; and it neglected the needs of girls.

The State Board of Education encouraged me to pursue these concerns. The result, after a great deal of debate and discussion, was an expanded set of physical education regulations spelling out clearly the obligation of local districts to achieve parity between men and women, and giving at least rhetorical support for the development of intramural programs. Although there were bitter and frankly mindless attacks from some elements of the athletic community, the regulations are reasonably well supported today and are chiefly responsible for the fact that Pennsylvania is far ahead of most other states in complying with Title IX. We still have a long way to go, however, in reducing and eliminating some of the worst excesses of professionalism, particularly at the

college level. This is something that I've been able to do very little about in the past five years.

10. The Arts

To my way of thinking, the arts are central, not peripheral—they are not, in the lingo of the day, "frills." Keeping them on the center of the stage has been one of our priorities.

That priority has taken two forms. One was some emphasis on what we came to call an "arts-related" curriculum, i.e., one which did not treat singing, painting and photography as totally distinct experiences. I can't point to any concrete evidence of success, but there seems to be a widespread conviction —not limited to Pennsylvania—that this has been a "good thing."

A more palpable sort of encouragement was the Governor's School for the Arts that we established in the summer of 1973.

Under Pennsylvania law, an undefined part of the money appropriated each year by the General Assembly for the support of special education is to be used to help gifted and talented children. We established a summer school at Bucknell University for an intensive program in the arts and then encouraged the intermediate units to use some of their special education money to defray the cost.

Admission is by competition. The school has gone from 213 students in the summer of 1973 to 276 in the summer of 1976. Both the student body and the faculty are of exceptional quality. Not only has the school honed the artistic talents of nearly a thousand 10th and 11th grade youngsters; they have, in turn, become "ambassadors for the arts" and are partly responsible for the fact that, in a time of austerity, arts programs in the schools have not yet suffered too badly.

11. The Executive Academy

I hadn't been on the scene very long before it became apparent that many of our school officials, especially superintendents and principals, were struggling with problems for which their formal academic training had failed to prepare them.

We asked their advice about the need to establish ways of helping them develop some of the necessary skills. The response was enthusiastic—indeed, overwhelming. As a result we established in 1973 the

Executive Academy. It is simply a series of seminars, ranging in length from a day to a week, to which we invite school officials to learn about recent developments and to work out solutions to a wide variety of problems facing them. We have done it chiefly with our own staff, without great expense and without much fanfare. The evidence is that it has met at least some of the problems which school officials are facing at this very troubled time of our history. We are currently making efforts to expand the academy to deal with other groups of people who may need similar kinds of help—college and university officials and managers of libraries, to name only two.

12. School Management

The department has, during the past several years, made some attempts—not as many as I could have hoped—to help local school districts manage their fiscal and other affairs more expeditiously. The building regulations referred to on page 13 above are one example.

Another involved short-term investments. Early in Governor Shapp's first term, school districts, because of changes in the subsidy system and for other reasons, were accumulating substantial temporary cash balances. In some cases these were being invested wisely; in other cases, not. With help from Milt Lopus, a valued consultant who is now Secretary of Revenue, we encouraged school districts to invest temporary cash balances in ways that would yield substantial income. As a result, in the peak year (1972-73) school districts earned nearly $50 million from temporary investments. Later developments—chiefly the shift to a system of three rather than four subsidy payments a year in the summer of 1974—considerably reduced the opportunity to augment school revenues in this way.

Another administrative improvement, again advised by Mr. Lopus and carried out with the cooperation of The Honorable Grace Sloan, Treasurer of the Commonwealth of Pennsylvania, was the shift to wire transfer of subsidies. In the past, subsidy checks sometimes totalling as much as $400 million had been mailed to the various districts at one time. Since the letters took anywhere from two days to a week to arrive, neither the Commonwealth nor the school districts were able to earn interest on the vast sums involved. Last year we worked out a system of wire transfer by which funds move instantly from the State

Treasury to a local depository named by the school district. This has resulted in substantial savings to the taxpayers of Pennsylvania.

13. School Desegregation

One of the unsung achievements of the past several years has been the voluntary desegregation of the schools in all except our two largest cities. Shortly after the Supreme Court of Pennsylvania decided in the *Chester* case (1967), that even de facto desegregation violates the Human Relations Act, the Human Relations Commission of Pennsylvania found seventeen school districts in Pennsylvania to be unlawfully segregated. A combination of strong leadership at the local level, prodding by the commission and technical help from the department has achieved a decent measure of desegregation in fifteen of those seventeen districts, and without any terrible hue and cry.

Philadelphia and Pittsburgh remain serious problems. They are so in part because of the situation—the Philadelphia schools are 65 percent black and the Pittsburgh, 35 percent—and in part because of what I can only describe as feeble leadership on the part of the boards of those two districts. It is especially disconcerting to note that in recent months the Philadelphia board and the Human Relations Commission almost agreed upon a plan of voluntary desegregation, with mandatory pupil transfers to take place only if the voluntary plan did not work. But it was torpedoed at the last minute by the Philadelphia board in what I can only describe as an act of bad faith.

My own view continues to be that while I do not think busing should be ruled out as a possible remedy, it is not in most cases a very suitable remedy. I personally think that the interests of the black community would in many cases be better served by focusing on the quality of education in neighborhood schools. Schools are segregated because black people and white people choose (or to some extent are forced) to live in neighborhoods that are predominantly black or predominantly white. The burden of remedying that situation should not fall entirely upon the schools, as it has for most of the past two decades.

14. Corrections Education

In the summer of 1974 Governor Shapp asked the Department of Education to take responsibility for educational programs in the correctional institutions of

the Commonwealth, both adult and juvenile. That responsibility had always been ours under an obscure section of the School Code, but had never been taken very seriously. Governor Shapp had become concerned because, in visiting some of the prisons, he and Lieutenant Governor Kline concluded that their educational programs were weak, as in fact they were.

We have not had an easy time in carrying out his directive. Some of the difficulties were here in the Department of Education. Others arose from various restrictions imposed by the Budget Office and the Office of Administration. Because of these restrictions, we found it impossible to hire staff to carry out this responsibility directly, but decided to contract instead with one of the intermediate units. We began by contracting with each intermediate unit where one of the prisons was located; finding this cumbersome, we centralized administration in the hands of the Luzerne County Intermediate Unit. While we have had good cooperation from the IU, the arrangement is at best awkward.

There have also been difficulties with the Department of Welfare in the case of the juvenile institutions and with the Corrections Bureau of the Department of Justice in the case of the adult prisons. The difficulties with Welfare are, I think, chiefly a function of size; the Welfare Department is so large and so unwieldy that an operation as small as this one (we are talking about some 3,000 juveniles) tends to be lost sight of. Secretary Beal and I agreed early in 1976 to set up a joint operation headed by someone from my staff. That has not worked well, and we are looking for alternative solutions.

The difficulty with the Corrections Bureau stems from its natural concern for the security of the institutions. We have now finally worked out a joint statement of what we want to happen in the prisons, and if we can agree about the administrative responsibilities, we can begin to make more rapid progress.

It may well be that what we need is a Department of Youth Services separate from Welfare, Education and Corrections. I was originally opposed to that idea, but as I have had to deal on a regular basis with the existing bureaucracies, I have grown more pessimistic about our ability to do what needs to be done —rapidly, and with imagination—in this very important area.

15. Intermediate Units

In 1969 the General Assembly passed legislation

abolishing the Office of County Superintendent of Schools and creating in its place 29 "intermediate units," designed to provide services which individual districts could not provide. Unlike IUs in other states, ours are not instruments of the state department. On the contrary, they are governed by boards drawn from the elected school boards of the constituent districts.

On the whole the IUs seem to have fulfilled the expectations which the General Assembly had for them. They get generally high marks from superintendents for their usefulness to local districts and a better than passing grade from the legislature's own Budget and Finance Committee. Proof of their increasing importance is the frequency with which the General Assembly and the State Board place new responsibilities upon them—for example, in providing services to nonpublic schools and in marshalling resources to help handicapped children. If they were abolished, we would have to invent something very much like them to take their place.

B. UNFINISHED BUSINESS

I have already mentioned what are perhaps the two principal items of unfinished business, at least on the legislative front—the school code and the subsidy reform. If the General Assembly can manage to deal constructively with both of these issues in the 1977-78 session, it will have advanced the cause of public education in Pennsylvania by a very long step indeed. Other and equally pressing priorities remain.

1. Project 81

Two concerns have come together to produce "Project 81," the department's chief priority for the next several years. One is a concern for the level of student achievement—the apparent failure of our schools and colleges to help young people acquire the skills and understandings they need to survive and prosper in the last quarter of the twentieth century. The other is a concern about the increasing isolation of schools from the communities they are supposed to serve.

Much of the impetus for Project 81 came from the Citizens Commission on Basic Education. Appointed by Governor Shapp in July 1972 it reported to him in November 1973. Its 169 recommendations covered almost every aspect of public education, K-12. The recommendations on curriculum (Chapter IV) gave vent to the commission's concern that the purposes

of public education were too often defined in terms of courses, credits and Carnegie units; it urged the State Board and the department to "bring about an orderly transition from a time-based/subject-oriented curriculum to one based on specific learning outcomes."

Members of the board's Council of Basic Education were all members of the commission. Not surprisingly, therefore, in January 1976 the board adopted a policy statement asking the department to produce a plan involving:

"(a) a redefinition of the purposes of public education in terms of the competencies which children and young people should be acquiring at various levels;

(b) a plan for shifting State Board curriculum and graduation requirements from their present dependence on courses, credits and Carnegie units to the newly defined competencies;

(c) a plan for maximizing community involvement in the schools, including both (1) the community use of schools and (2) the school's use of the resources of the community;

(d) all this to be done with the greatest practicable involvement of those concerned—students, teachers, administrators, school board members and citizens—and with the least possible increase in the cost of public education."

A draft of such a plan was presented to the State Board in November of 1976. It envisioned the creation of a small staff in the department; the selection of twelve school districts in which to pilot the program; a period during which these districts would try to define what skills and understandings they think are needed by high school graduates; and the eventual amendment of State Board curriculum regulations to reflect whatever we have learned through this process.

In this way we hope to put the "back-to-basics" movement to constructive purposes and to bring the community back to an understanding of the fact that the education of our children is everybody's business.

2. Education for Parenthood

I have become increasingly concerned in recent years about what happens to very small children in our society.

We are receiving into the public schools of Pennsylvania a good many children at the age of four or five who have been badly damaged physically or emotionally and in many cases stunted intellectually long before they reach school. We deal as best we can with those handicaps—but we often wish we could do something to minimize them.

While the responsibility does not lie solely or even primarily with the Department of Education, I now think that it is time for the Commonwealth of Pennsylvania to look at the various ways in which state policy currently affects the ability of parents and guardians to raise small children with wisdom and affection and ways in which we might strengthen the role of the state in that respect.

What I *don't* have in mind is a network of state-subsidized day care centers. I'm talking rather about our ability to help parents raise their own children in their own homes, chiefly, and also about the education of young parents.

We talk about nearly everything in the schools—except the two most important roles that most people will assume at one time or another in their lives, that of a husband or wife and that of a parent. It is a delicate matter. The conventional wisdom is that these are matters best left to the family, the church and the community. But these institutions are not currently able to transmit the kind of cultural understandings that in the past permitted young parents to raise young children with some reasonable chance of success. At the very least it seems to me that we ought to be acquainting senior high school students—some of whom are already parents and many of whom will shortly become parents—with some of the responsibilities of parenthood and some of the ways of coping with the stresses of parenthood. Whether we can do anything very useful remains to be seen. At the least I would think we could avoid state policies (cf. the man-in-the-house rule) that materially handicap parents and guardians in raising young people who can take their own rightful place in our society.

3. Troubled and Troublesome Kids

While we have begun in a very tentative way to deal with the educational problems of young people who get caught in the toils of the law (see Pages 20-21), we are even further from dealing intelligently with these problems when they first arise.

For every youngster who winds up in a correctional institution, there are at least ten who get into fairly serious trouble and whose educational progress is interrupted or in some cases brought to a halt by those difficulties.

We began to deal with this issue in a legalistic sort of way with the State Board's adoption of Student Rights and Responsibilities (see Page 16).

It is one thing, however, to say that schools shouldn't just throw troublesome children out the front door; it is something else to know how to help them without hurting everybody else. We know a good deal more than we did a couple of decades ago about the largely self-defeating nature of institutions. What we don't need are "reform schools" under another name. But there are a substantial number of kids who can't be handled in the normal classroom without putting unfair burdens on the teacher and the rest of the students.

Early in 1976 Frank Manchester, the Commissioner of Basic Education, set up a task force to examine the whole question of student discipline. The first part of its work is now available—a syllabus of the kinds of misconduct that students often engage in and some suggested ways of dealing with them.

The task force is now tackling the more difficult question of educational programs for those who can't succeed in a normal setting. Because this problem does not occur uniformly throughout the system—urban and suburban schools are more likely to be plagued by it than rural schools—we ought to make separate provision for it in our system of school subsidies, and we suggested doing so in the proposals put before the State Board in November of 1976 (see Page 8).

One obvious answer is a wide variety of alternative schools. Another is to provide more opportunities for both part-time and full-time work for many of the young men and women who are now bored stiff in school, allowing them to continue their schooling on a part-time basis. This, however, runs smack up against the realities of the present job market. We apparently cannot even provide full-time employment in this country to the heads of households who want full-time work—let alone several million additional teenagers.

What is to be done? I've often thought that a domestic peace corps—an updated version of the Civilian Conservation Corps which was so helpful back in the 1930s—might be part of the answer. But

I have no confidence in the ability of governments to run projects of that kind on the necessary scale with much skill or imagination. We need to contrive ways of providing incentives to the private sector to create and sustain kinds of employment for which young people can qualify. My suspicion is that we also need to find ways of spreading the available work about more evenly than the current economy does.

4. Equal Opportunity

We still have some major unfinished business in the area of equal opportunity, not only for women and minorities but for all who are discriminated against in one way or another.

I have been less aggressive on this front than some of my staff and friends could have wished. In part that stemmed from my feeling that we in the Department of Education had no right to preach to the field what we were not practicing ourselves. I inherited in 1971 a department that was a bastion of white male Protestant supremacy; Catholics and Jews were almost as under-represented on our staff as women and blacks. We have made some modest improvements (see Page 61), and I now feel more confident about addressing the problem in the field—that is, in our schools and our colleges.

Subtle prejudices are still very strong. When I was looking for a Commissioner of Basic Education about a year and a half ago, I was urged by the Executive Secretary of the Pennsylvania School Boards Association not to appoint a woman "because she would not have the respect of the field." And those sentiments are probably felt far more often than they are voiced.

The situation in the schools is complicated by the fact that hiring there is done by elected school boards which are overwhelmingly (though decreasingly) male and white. We have only one woman school superintendent in Pennsylvania, which is a disgrace. We have made some progress in the state colleges, where we have direct authority, although to my chagrin there is not yet a woman president. The state-related universities, especially Penn State, have been even slower to change.

Nonetheless, I think the department now has its own house largely in order, and is in a position to carry its message to the field: discrimination, subtle as well as overt, must come to an end.

5. Collective Bargaining and the Schools

It has been clear for some time now that Act 195 was not working as well as its supporters, including myself, could have wished. Not only have we had far more strikes than might have been expected, but there has been evidence of a good deal of immaturity in the bargaining process. For example, in many districts there was a failure to use "meet-and-discuss" sessions to resolve outstanding issues.

For several years I took the position that it was simply a question of time; that with more experience on both sides, and with court decisions spelling out what is a bargainable issue, the number of strikes would diminish. But that has not happened.

It was for this reason that Secretary of Labor and Industry Paul Smith and I joined forces in mid-1976, asking two of our deputies, Jim Weaver and Frank Manchester, to study Act 195 as it relates to the public schools. We told them to look not only at the text of the Act itself but at a wide range of related issues—the policies of the Department of Education, the procedures of the Mediation Bureau and even the attitudes of the parties. It was our hope that they would have a preliminary report for us by the end of 1976 and the final report sometime in the spring.

In the meantime, however, Governor Shapp has appointed a nine-person commission headed by the former Chief Justice of Pennsylvania to examine Act 195 as it relates not only to school districts but to municipalities and the Commonwealth itself. As a result, the work of Deputy Secretary Weaver and Commissioner Manchester has been submerged in the larger enterprise. They will be making their expertise available to the commission, but will not, as we had originally contemplated, make a separate report.

The following comments, based on my own experience during the past five years, may perhaps be useful to the commission:

1. I do not think Act 195 should be repealed. The problems of public employes are real; Act 195 provides an orderly way of dealing with them. Moreover, repeal is not politically feasible.

2. The Department of Education has come in for some criticism for enforcing the school code's requirement that each district conduct 180 days of school. It has been argued with some force that the effect of this requirement is to tip the scales in favor of the union, since it can strike for at least a month without losing any pay (by adding days at the end of the

school year up to June 30).

It may well be that the current system loads the dice—although, as I'll argue in a minute, it does so in a sense for both sides. What I reject is the idea that children should be made to suffer for the inability of school boards and teachers unions to work out reasonable settlements. To permit a strike to result in a 150-day school year is intolerable.

The real problem is that neither side has any very strong incentives to settle promptly. In private industry, a strike results in loss of wages to workers and loss of profits to management. In state or municipal government similar pressures are at work. But in the public schools there are no such pressures. The teachers know that up to a certain point they can make up the time lost and receive a full pay envelope, so they are in no hurry to go back to work. But it is equally true that management has no very strong incentives to settle. If the time is later made up, there is no loss of state subsidies; and even if it is not, in some districts the loss of subsidies is less than the gain from not paying the teachers, and so the district does not suffer any net loss of income.

The problem which the commission must face is that *the public school situation is unique*. The question is how to apply more serious pressures than are presently available to both school boards and teachers unions without in any way defrauding children of their entitlement to a full school year.

One possible solution is to impose financial penalties on both teachers and school districts for each day of a strike *even though the days are later made up*. For example, teachers might lose one-half of their pay for each day of a strike while school districts would lose one-half of their subsidy. There are difficulties in working out the penalties at the school district end because of the differing impacts of the subsidy system; what would be a serious loss in one district is only a nuisance in another. Nonetheless, I think a formula could be devised which would ensure, as the present law does not, that strikes are a last resort.

3. Editorial writers often suggest that we ought to eliminate the right to strike, dealing with impasse in some other way. They are wonderfully vague about what those other ways might be. I don't like strikes, but I like some of the alternatives even less. It would appear, for example, that compulsory arbitration has not worked well in the case of police forces and fire departments. Moreover, compulsory arbitration in the public arena is bad because it removes the final

responsibility from the place where it rightly belongs —namely on the shoulders of the legislature, city council or school board which is ultimately responsible to the taxpayers in a way that an arbitrator is not.

4. Much of the difficulty stems from the attitudes of the parties themselves, which will not be changed by any amendments to Act 195. Some school boards give the impression that they welcome a strike, hoping in the end that public indignation will secure the repeal of Act 195. Some unions on the other hand go into bargaining with utterly unrealistic ideas about the revenues available to a local board. Unless there is some change in these attitudes—and I have seen very little evidence of change over the past five years —I'm not sure that any amount of surgery on Act 195 will serve any very useful purpose.

Part II. POSTSECONDARY EDUCATION

A. MATTERS OF GENERAL CONCERN

1. Creating a Coordinated System

It is not easy to talk intelligently about the Commonwealth's role in higher education. In part, this is because the role is less clear cut and less well defined historically; in part, it is because there is very little acceptance in the higher education community of the propriety of a major role on the part of the state. The public school community criticizes our individual decisions but recognizes that the state has a leadership role; the prevailing view in the higher education community—even among public institutions—is "give us our money and leave us alone."

One of my first official actions in 1972 was to cancel nearly $50 million worth of construction at the state-related universities and the state colleges. Although these projects had been approved by the General Assembly and by the department, it was already clear to me that declining birth rates would leave many of them empty in the 1980s. This action provoked much criticism on the campuses but won the approval of Governor Shapp's Management Review Committee; without it, we would be seriously overbuilt.

Much of the effort of both the State Board of Education and the department during the past five years has been directed toward a meshing of the parts—an attempt to insure that the various segments of higher education work together in harmony and with reasonable efficiency.

Early in Governor Shapp's first term, the State Board unveiled the second Master Plan for Higher Education in the Commonwealth (the first having been promulgated in the summer of 1966). I had nothing to do with the drafting of the 1971 Master Plan, nor did I consider myself bound by every feature of it. Nevertheless, I think the State Board did an excellent job in coming up with such a plan and would have altered only a sentence here and there. In a general

sort of way, it has guided much of what we have done during the past five years.

Shortly after Governor Shapp took office, the Congress of the United States passed the Higher Education Amendments of 1972. Among other things they provided a small amount of planning money to each state for higher education purposes, but required as a corollary the appointment of a commission—the so-called "1202 Commission"—to do higher education planning for the state. We debated for some time whether or not to accept funds. In the end, we advised Governor Shapp that we thought the establishment of such a commission would be worthwhile. It has now been in existence a little over two years, and is embarked in effect on an attempt to write a third version of the Master Plan. I frankly have my fingers crossed about the long-range utility of the 1202 Commission, and worry that it may usurp the authority of the Council of Higher Education if we aren't careful.

In 1972 we secured the passage of a bill—Senate Bill 30 of the 1971-72 session, now Act 224—which I had been after for a long time. The version which finally passed forbade the establishment of new branch campuses and new graduate and professional schools or the transformation of a two-year institution to a four-year one without the approval of the State Board of Education.

Unhappily, it was a classic case of closing the barn door after the horse had gone. During the 1960s Penn State established branch campuses in most of the populated areas of the state. This was, in my opinion, the single most unfortunate development in higher education in this state in this century. It has frustrated the development of a comprehensive system of community colleges (as it was intended to do), and it has swollen Penn State to gargantuan proportions, preventing that university from dealing imaginatively with some of its most pressing problems. But it happened, and we have to live with the consequences.

The State Board of Education has long been concerned with promoting cooperation between colleges and universities in the same area of the state. The motive is two-fold: to prevent unnecessary duplication and to improve quality. As a result, the board in 1974 required the creation of regional councils in the ten higher education planning regions of the state. This has now been done in all of the regions except four, which have combined into two regions (4/5 and 9/10) with the board's approval.

The councils have varying degrees of vitality and

have been useful in a small way. Increasingly both the board and the department are in the habit of referring questions to the councils for their advice—not feeling bound by the result, necessarily, but wishing to know the collective opinion of higher education institutions in a particular region before pursuing some policy or plan. We have been handicapped in not having had the funds to staff the regional councils adequately; our requests for money for this purpose to the Governor's Budget Office and the General Assembly have fallen on deaf ears.

A typical example of the difficulty of making public policy for higher education concerns the problem of making a thirteenth and fourteenth year of public education available in the more sparsely settled parts of the state. The more populous parts of the state tend to have either a community college or the branch campus of a state-related university or both; the least populous parts of the state tend to have neither, so that young people in the mountains or the northern tier have no access to either a technical or a liberal arts program at the community college level.

Early in his tenure, Higher Education Commissioner Jerome Ziegler formed a task force to study this problem. After a year, members came up with a set of recommendations that didn't advance the discussion one inch, but outlined options we already knew we had.

More recently, attempting to get the whole thing off dead center, we put before the State Board some recommendations which included a limited authority in the state colleges to conduct two-year degree programs. The hue and cry from the community colleges and the state-relateds has been deafening. In the face of this protest, the State Board has been unwilling to move beyond de facto approval of a few existing programs, which leaves us approximately where we were five years ago.

This situation is quite typical. On the one hand, the colleges and universities deny the state has any authority to impose its views, and argue that they should be permitted to work out their own solutions; on the other hand, those solutions turn out either to be nonexistent or of the least-common-denominator variety. A classic case is the current study of "duplication" which was commissioned by the Pennsylvania Association of Colleges and University some two years ago with public funds. It is not complete—and we were told recently that we cannot have access to some of the information because it is "confidential"!

In the meantime, the State Board is not supposed to take any action in this field pending receipt of the study, and so on *ad infinitum*.

2. Equal Opportunity

Turning to other and more cheerful subjects, the General Assembly, with strong support from Governor Shapp, passed in 1971 a bill subsequently known as Act 101, which made public funds available for a variety of programs at colleges and universities (both public and private) that are designed to help bright students who come to college poorly prepared. The appropriation has risen slowly from $1 million in the first year to about $3.5 million currently, and we are supporting programs of 53 colleges and universities. An exhaustive study of the program by the Legislative Budget and Finance Committee was critical of some features but generally gave it good marks. The program's retention of students has been remarkably high and is improving (see Chart 7). Act 101 is probably responsible, among other things, for the fact that minority enrollments in the state colleges (other than Cheyney) have continued to rise slowly if not spectacularly. It has been a crucial element in our compliance with the suit filed by the NAACP in which Judge Pratt found that Pennsylvania and ten southern states were operating segregated systems of public higher education.

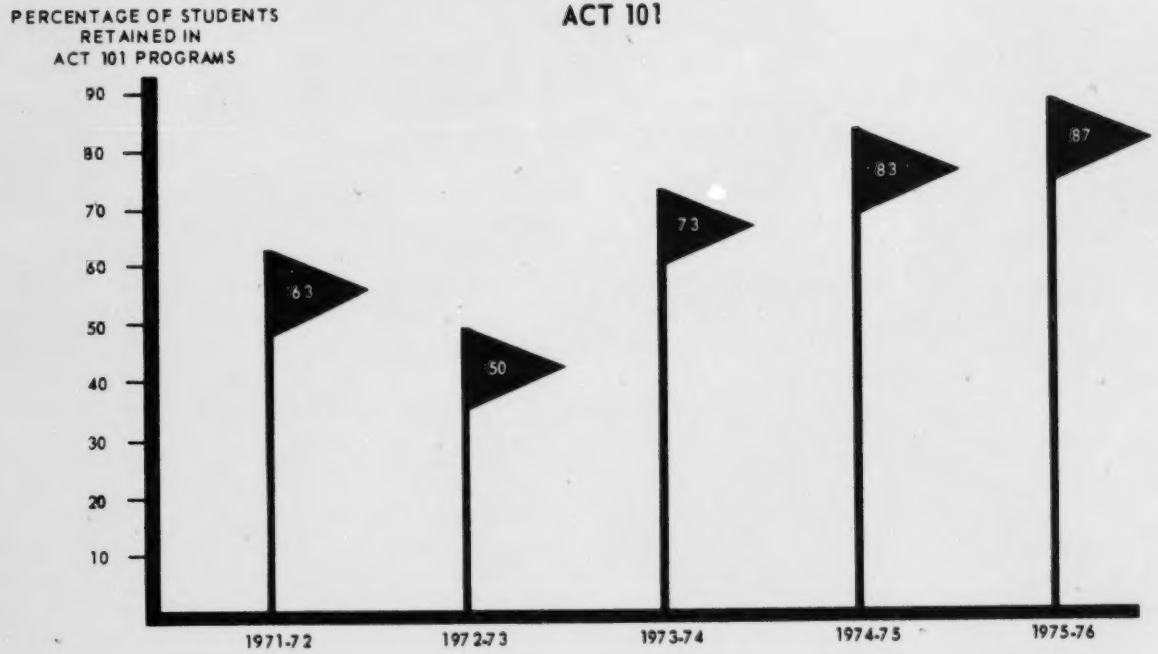
In addition to writing annually regulations for Act 101, the State Board adopted its own regulations aimed at promoting equal opportunity—in admissions, in programs and in employment—in all institutions receiving state funds. The board also had the good sense to say that anyone meeting similar federal standards will be exempt from its own. Thus Pennsylvania colleges and universities will be spared a new set of forms on top of those from OCR, EEOC, the Department of Labor, etc.

3. Teacher Training and Certification

The department has final responsibility for programs to train teachers and administrators in all institutions, public and private, undergraduate and graduate. Some years ago, the department moved to a system called "program approval." Essentially, we scrutinize and then approve the general contours of a college's teacher training program. We then automatically certify any person who is certified to us by the col-

CHART 7

ACT 101



lege as having completed the program in a satisfactory way.

The system isn't perfect, but I'm not sure that any other would be better. Despite strong pressures from some members of the State Board and my own staff, I did not give reform of this system a high priority, with some exceptions noted below. I didn't think it unimportant; I just doubted our ability to do anything very useful, given our limited resources and the fact that 86 colleges and universities in the state have "program approval" in one or more areas.

But there have been some interesting developments during these five years in teacher training and certification. Here are three worth mentioning:

a. *Competency-Based Teacher Education*

Pennsylvania is one of the states that has been experimenting with something called "competency-based teacher education." Basically, it asks of a freshly-minted teacher not "what do you know?" but "what can you do?" I am a cautious supporter. I do not think the "competency" movement will transform teacher education (nothing will), but I disagree with those who label it a fraud. Insofar as it emphasizes skills in the public school classroom, it strikes me as a useful antidote for the excessively *academic* nature of much teacher training.

b. *Professional Standards and Practices Commission*

In 1972 the General Assembly passed a bill creating a new Professional Standards and Practices Commission. In its original form the bill would have taken away from the department and the State Board of Education all authority over the training and certification of teachers, lodging those responsibilities with the new commission. I lobbied strenuously against the bill in that form and succeeded in having it modified along present lines, i.e., the commission is advisory to the State Board of Education.

I was frankly worried about the direction in which even an advisory commission might go. It seemed to me quite possible that it would do what regulatory bodies have done in most other fields, i.e., take a monopolistic view, attempting to create as many obstacles to entry into the teaching profession as possible. I'm happy to say that on the evidence of the past six months or so, that will not be the case. The commission seems to be taking seriously its responsibility to be looking at the public interest as well as the wel-

fare of the teaching profession in the recommendations it is making to the State Board. I can only hope that future appointments to the commission will strengthen rather than weaken that tendency.

c. *In-Service Programs for Teachers*

State law provides that twelve additional credit hours will extend a provisional teaching certificate and twenty-four additional credits will make a provisional certificate permanent. In the past those credits have been earned almost exclusively in colleges and universities.

It has long been my view that much graduate training in education does nothing to improve classroom teaching skills. At my urging the State Board in 1974 amended its own regulations to permit these credits to be earned in whole or in part through in-service courses meeting standards laid down by the department. In carrying out the board's mandate, we have encouraged the establishment of in-service training councils in all of the intermediate units and many of the larger school districts in the state. As a result, teachers—not only beginning teachers, but those with considerable experience—now have available to them some courses that are more closely tailored to their own needs than was the case in the past.

4. Field Experiences

I have for a long time been concerned about the fact that although our colleges and universities purport to train people for certain kinds of work, that training takes place chiefly in a college classroom. In some areas—mathematics, for example—that's probably appropriate, but in others—political science, to take one—it clearly isn't.

Shortly after I arrived here, therefore, I set up an internship program aimed chiefly at students in our state colleges. Interns come to Harrisburg for a semester, obtain temporary employment with an agency of state government (later expanded to include other nonprofit agencies as well), are paid a small stipend, find their own lodgings and receive academic credit. In addition, there are weekly seminars at which they have a chance to meet and question a variety of people who make a difference in Harrisburg—members of the Cabinet and of the General Assembly, lobbyists, the press and from time to time the Governor or the Lieutenant Governor.

This program is now entering its tenth semester. We have relinquished administrative responsibility to

the Commission of State Colleges and University, on the theory that when programs of this kind get set up, the department ought to work itself out of a job. I think it has worked extradordinarly well. Both the students and their employers have been generally enthusiastic. In a number of cases the students have come back to Harrisburg after graduating and found employment with the same agency.

We have encouraged similar programs on the campuses. The business administration faculties at both Shippensburg and Edinboro are placing interns in business and industry on a fairly large scale, and Indiana University of Pennsylvania last year placed nearly 400 students from a wide variety of fields in a wide variety of positions. In short, it seems to me that in this area Pennsylvania is showing the rest of the country how to combine classroom learning with practical field experience.

5. Ethnic Studies Center

In 1974 the General Assembly passed a bill authorizing the creation of an Ethnic Studies Center for the Commonwealth and appropriating a small amount of money to the department for the purpose of contracting for the establishment of such a center. We entertained applications from a number of institutions and settled ultimately on the University of Pittsburgh. The center has now been in existence for two years and is doing some very good work by way of improving archival collections from the various ethnic communities in Pennsylvania, encouraging the development of programs of oral history in the secondary schools and so forth. We have been greatly handicapped by the smallness of the annual appropriation, still only at $50,000 per year. I am greatly heartened by Governor Shapp's action in sending to the General Assembly a request for $500,000 for fiscal 1977-78. One of the glories of Pennsylvania is the diversity of its people. We ought to be encouraging the people of this state to derive both pleasure and instruction from that diversity.

6. Student Trustees

In higher education as in the public schools, the Shapp Administration has been characterized by concern for students and attempts to involve them in responsible decision making. Early in 1971 Governor Shapp named an undergraduate as trustee at each of the fourteen state colleges and at each of the state-related universities. Later the General Assembly itself

passed a bill institutionalizing the practice, at least for the state colleges. The student appointments have not only brought a student point of view to the board —and a responsible student point of view in most cases—but also enabled us to increase the diversity of the boards by appointing more women and blacks than had served in previous administrations.

B. POLICY FOR THE SEGMENTS

It is useful to think of postsecondary education in Pennsylvania as consisting of five different segments: the state-related universities (Penn State, Temple, Pitt and more recently, Lincoln); the fourteen state colleges; the fourteen community colleges; the more than one hundred private nonprofit institutions; and the proprietary schools. The department and the State Board have rather different responsibilities for the different segments, ranging from almost total control in the case of the state colleges to the most casual contacts in the case of most private colleges and universities. Having talked about some general developments, I will now examine state policy toward each of the segments, beginning with the state colleges, since they consume the lion's share of the department's energies (unwisely, in my opinion; see Part II, C).

1. The State Colleges

In 1969 the General Assembly had created (with my strong support) a new instrument for governance in the state college sector—the Board of State College and University Directors (BSCUD). Its first members, appointed by Governor Shafer, took office early in 1971.

The board has grown slowly—too slowly, from my point of view—into a body capable of making general policy for the fourteen state colleges. The slowness of its development is probably the result of several factors. The presidents, organized into a Board of Presidents, were loathe to yield a policy-making authority which had formerly belonged, in part, to them. The board was reluctant to take action except on recommendation of the presidents—which in certain areas meant taking no action at all. And the department did not always provide the leadership and the technical assistance which would have made for a smooth transition to the new system.

Nevertheless, that system is now in place and work-

ing reasonably well. It is time to take the next step, which I discuss in Part V, C.

The principle achievement of the past five years in the state college sector has been a difficult but increasingly harmonious adjustment to the realities of collective bargaining.

If I were inventing an ideal system for the governance of colleges and universities, I would probably not choose the model we currently are working with. But it is not unworkable and can be made to serve important purposes.

Several features of the bargaining which has taken place over the past five years need to be mentioned. The first round of bargaining was in the hands of the Office of Administration; the result was an economic settlement which was not only more generous than we could afford, but put unhealthy pressures on state-related and many private colleges and universities. When the second round of bargaining was scheduled to begin, we insisted upon the right to put together a bargaining team of our own. In the end, Lieutenant Governor Kline agreed; and the same procedure was followed in 1975. The results were more realistic settlements (less than 4 percent) which have served to moderate, if not eliminate, the salary disparities resulting from the first round of negotiations.

Several features of the ensuing contracts have contributed to the present relatively stable situation at the state colleges. The grievance machinery, after a shaky beginning, is working well. We no longer have the spate of lawsuits alleging denials of due process which disfigured the state college scene for so many years. One can say with confidence, for example, that the Michael Kay and other lawsuits at West Chester, which resulted in that college being censured by AAUP, could never have arisen under our present system.

All three contracts have contained provisions for student evaluation of faculty. We have not monitored this as closely as we should have, and the results have been uneven. But I am convinced personally that it can work and will contribute to an improvement in the quality of teaching.

The state colleges are and will continue for the indefinite future to be primarily undergraduate institutions. Our central concern, therefore, has been with the quality of teaching. We've taken several other steps to try to encourage gradual improvements in that direction. Under the terms of the second contract, we were required to appoint joint committees

of faculty and Commonwealth members to revise the systems relating to tenure and promotion. This we did with results that I think will be helpful in the future. My deep regret on this score is that during the '50s and '60s, the state colleges hired an enormous number of new faculty and tenured them almost casually. It will take thirty years to undo some of the damage.

In the course of negotiations, both the faculty union and the Commonwealth came to realize that the existing system of merit increases was not serving any very useful purpose, and was sometimes being abused. We therefore agreed to substitute for it a system of distinguished faculty teaching and service awards. We have now completed two rounds of these awards with results that I think are generally happy, though not beyond dispute. A number of faculty from other colleges and universities, both public and private, have been involved in these awards at the local level, thereby serving to decrease somewhat the insularity of our state colleges. At the same time they have brought to the attention of a great many people the fact that we have some very distinguished teachers on our faculties—not by any means limited to those who have won awards.

Another development aimed at improving the quality of teaching was the establishment of a trust fund for the improvement of college teaching. This resulted from a wage board freeze, followed by a thaw that made available some $400,000. By joint agreement of the faculty union and the Commonwealth, these funds are being used to retrain faculty, to encourage the development of new programs and courses, and to help improve the quality of instruction.

As early as 1971 it was evident that we were turning out more certifiable teachers than the public school system could possibly absorb. In fact, in 1972 we graduated 20,000 certifiable teachers from our colleges, public and private, for approximately 7,000 vacancies (see Chart 8). This was clearly an indefensible situation.

Early in 1972, therefore, Commissioner Ziegler put together a state-level planning commission. The Board of State College and University Directors then mandated planning commissions at the fourteen campuses to work out ways of shifting resources into other areas. The result—adopted as formal policy by the board in 1974—was to ask each of the colleges to emphasize one or more "new missions," chiefly in the

areas of human services, health services, business administration and technology (see Chart 9). At a time of declining real resources we have not been able to put into new missions the resources they require, so that our progress in carrying out this ambitious plan has been less great than we hoped. The likelihood is that there will be *no* growth in real total resources in the next five to ten years, so that resources for new missions will have to be carved out of existing programs; whether the fortitude exists for this kind of leadership remains to be seen. Nonetheless, we have succeeded—with some help from the job market—in bringing the supply of certifiable teachers into a more realistic relationship to the demand than existed five years ago.

No system is any better than the people who are in charge. The state college system had been marred for many decades of both Democratic and Republican rule by an excessive involvement in politics. It is in fact a minor miracle that we have done as well as we have under the circumstances. Each of my five years as Secretary was marred by a crisis on at least one campus. The causes were diverse, but a common element was weak leadership—and in some cases scandalous meddling—by the local board of trustees.

Largely as a result of these difficulties, Governor Shapp had occasion to appoint five new presidents in his first six years—at East Stroudsburg, Bloomsburg, West Chester, Indiana and Clarion—with searches currently underway at Slippery Rock and California.

We determined from the outset that we would not do business in the old way, but would search for presidents in a totally nonpolitical way, with the active involvement of faculty, students, administrators and alumni. That we have done—and the result is, I think, some outstanding appointments, men capable of giving real leadership to the state college system over the next decade.

College students—especially state college students—had very little "clout" on the Harrisburg scene. I met in 1973 with student leaders from the state colleges and agreed to help raise a small amount of money from private sources to get them off the ground. The Commonwealth Association of Students is now a moderately vigorous presence in Harrisburg, with two full-time staff and occasional interns. With good leadership they can present an increasingly coherent student view, not only on issues directly affecting the colleges but (I would hope) on a wider range of matters involving the public interest.

CHART 8

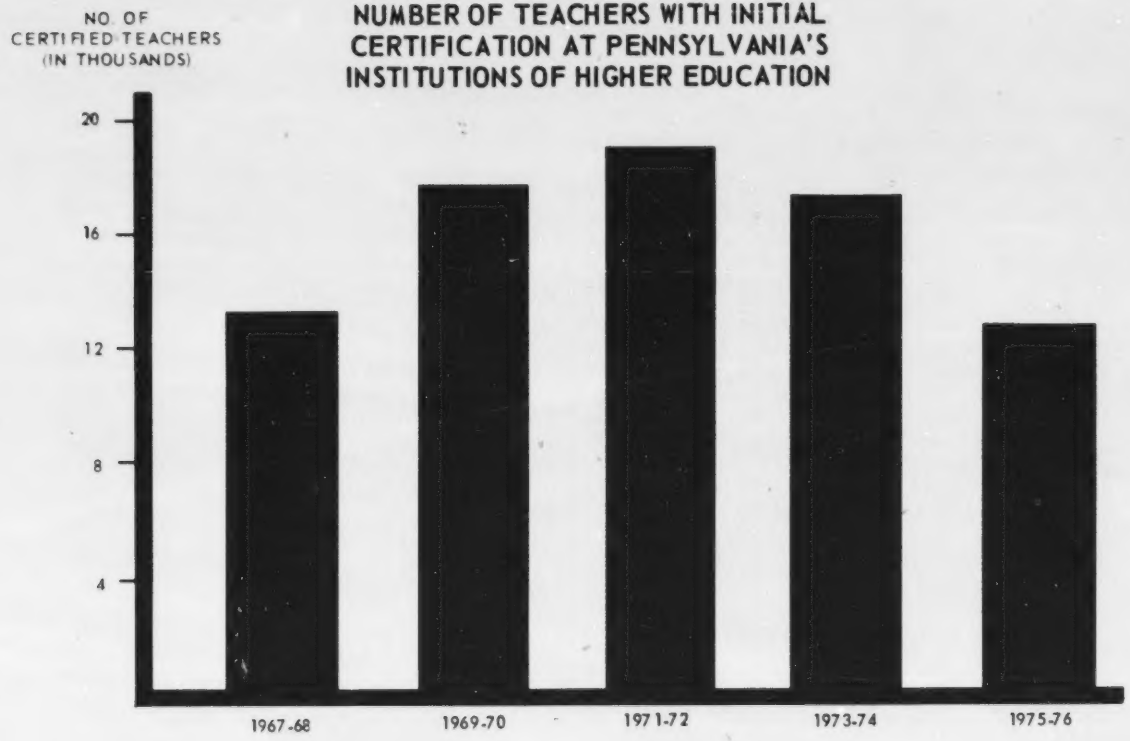

NO. OF
CERTIFIED TEACHERS
(IN THOUSANDS)
NUMBER OF TEACHERS WITH INITIAL
CERTIFICATION AT PENNSYLVANIA'S
INSTITUTIONS OF HIGHER EDUCATION
20
16
12
8
4
1967-68
1969-70
1971-72
1973-74
1975-76

CHART 9

NEW MISSIONS FOR THE STATE COLLEGES

BLOOMSBURG	BUSINESS
CALIFORNIA	TECHNOLOGY
CHEYNEY	BUSINESS, HUMAN SERVICES (SOCIAL), TECHNOLOGY
CLARION	BUSINESS
E. STROUDSBURG	HUMAN SERVICES (RECREATION)
EDINBORO	HUMAN SERVICES (SOCIAL AND HEALTH)
INDIANA	HUMAN SERVICES (SOCIAL AND HEALTH)
KUTZTOWN	PUBLIC ADMINISTRATION (TELECOMMUNICATION)
LOCK HAVEN	HUMAN SERVICES (INTERNATIONAL)
MANSFIELD	HUMAN SERVICES (SOCIAL)
MILLERSVILLE	HUMAN SERVICES (SOCIAL, EMPHASIS ON COOPERATIVE WORK-STUDY)
SHIPPENSBURG	BUSINESS
SLIPPERY ROCK	PUBLIC ADMINISTRATION, HUMAN SERVICES (RECREATION)
WEST CHESTER	BUSINESS

2. The State-Related Universities

Pennsylvania is unique in having what we call "state-related" universities—Penn State, Temple, Pitt and, more recently, Lincoln. Although a very substantial part of their budgets comes from the state (see Chart 10), they retain many of the features of a private university.

The state has essentially four types of control, direct and indirect, over these universities. First, their annual budget requests pass through the department on their way to the Governor's Budget Office and the General Assembly. (This control is more fictional than real, in part because we lack the staff to scrutinize those requests carefully, in part because the universities don't hesitate to deal directly with the General Assembly.) Secondly, the Secretary of Education must approve all capital projects using state funds. (But the universities can sometimes run an end run around us by building with local or private money.) Thirdly, the universities are bound by the terms of Act 224 (see Page 31), and by certain other regulations of the State Board. And lastly, the Secretary of Education serves on all four boards and—in this administration, anyway—has had some voice in gubernatorial appointments to the boards (six out of thirty-two at Penn State, four out of thirty-six at the other three).

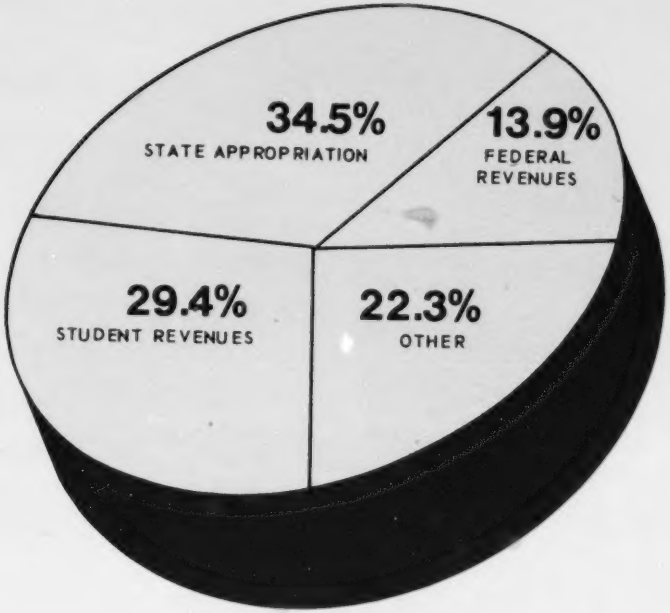
On balance, the control is slight. I'm not sure that this is necessarily (with some exceptions noted below) a bad thing. A cynic might say—indeed, I have said on occasion myself—that the state-relateds call themselves public when they want state money and describe themselves as private when you try to find out how they're spending it. But they do, on the whole, a good job, and I can't think of any system that would be radically better.

From time to time the idea surfaces that the state-relateds ought to be under a single board. I think, personally, this is a terrible idea. The boards and administrators of Penn State, Temple and Pitt have enough difficulty managing the huge and complex institutions these places have become; a single institution of more than 100,000 students would be a monstrosity.

Although I would oppose the state having the sort of direct authority over the state-relateds which it now enjoys (if that's the right word) with respect to the state colleges, some problems need to be dealt with, either by the State Board or, if it lacks the

CHART 10

SOURCES OF FUNDING
FOR STATE-RELATED
UNIVERSITIES
1975-76



authority, by the General Assembly itself:

a. The state-related universities take the position that the salaries of their top officials are nobody's business. That is frankly an untenable point of view. The budgets of those universities come heavily from public funds. The public has the same right to know that information as they have to know the salaries of the Governor or of the General Assembly. Either the Attorney General should institute court action to compel disclosure of this information or the General Assembly should make it a condition of the next appropriation bill.

b. A second issue has to do with the places at which these universities do business. Penn State, and to a lesser extent, Temple and Pitt, take the position that they have charters permitting them to do business any place in Pennsylvania and to serve any unmet needs which they might discern. Act 224 (see Page 31) deals with that problem, but only in gross terms. If Penn State chooses to do business in such palpable form that the result can reasonably be described as a "branch campus," then the authority bestowed on the State Board by Act 224 comes into play. But if Penn State conducts classes in a junior high school, the authority of the Act apparently does not reach that far; and yet such an activity may be just as much of an interference with local prerogatives and just as extravagant a use of public funds as the creation of a branch campus five miles from a community college.

c. The third issue concerns enrollments. The likelihood is that total enrollments in all Pennsylvania colleges and universities will decline between 10 and 20 percent in the next decade (see Page 50). As it affects the state-related universities, this decline poses a serious question: are they planning for a parallel decline in their own enrollments? Or, on the contrary, are they aiming to keep their enrollments constant, i.e., to garner a larger share of a smaller population? In either case, the consequences touch many other people and institutions. And there is no machinery for ensuring that the policies pursued by the state-relateds on this score mesh with state policy generally.

We need to develop ways of dealing with these and related issues. They do *not* require state control or surveillance of the day-to-day operation of the state-related universities. They *do* require that some per-

son or persons—preferably, I would think, the State Board—have the authority to make broad policy, at least in certain areas, for all publicly supported higher education.

3. The Community Colleges

Fourteen community colleges have been organized under the terms of the Act of 1963—none of them during the past six years. The impetus for the formation of community colleges is pretty clearly exhausted. They now serve most of the more densely populated areas of the state; and the chances of county sponsorship in the more remote rural areas are slim (see Page 32). In fact, we will do well to sustain what we have over the next decade.

State financial support of community colleges has grown by spurts during the Shapp Administration. In 1971 the General Assembly raised from $1,000 to $1,200 the amount of instructional expense against which the state would pay its one-third share. In 1974 the amount was raised to $1,500 per student, with an additional $150 being payable toward the cost of certain occupational programs.

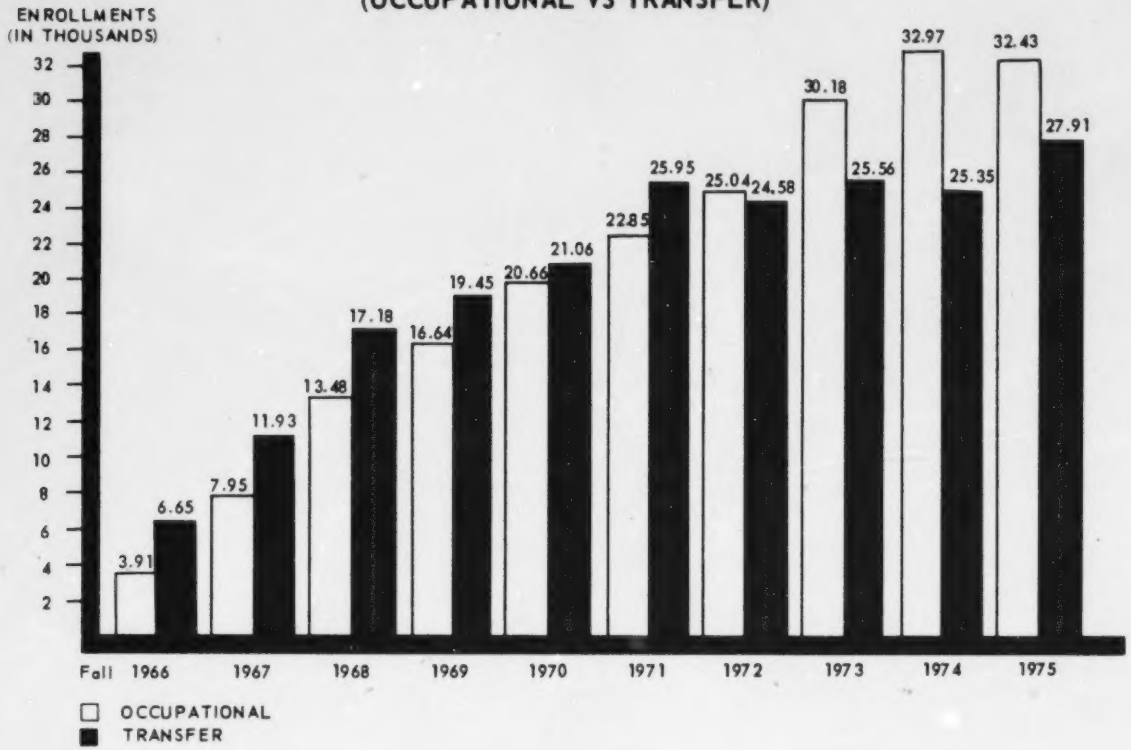
State controls over the community colleges are relatively light. All hiring and firing is done by the local trustees. They also approve decisions about academic programs. This sometimes causes trouble, as when the community colleges wanted to get into the business of providing the first two years of teacher education. We said "no" to that request because of unused capacity elsewhere, and there were some hard feelings. The state does have the final say about capital construction, since it pays 50 percent of the cost. We have tried to use that authority to ensure that the community colleges remain nonresident institutions, without elaborate facilities, serving local needs.

An interesting and, on the whole, welcome development has been the shift from liberal arts to occupational programs in the past several years (see Chart 11). In passing the Community College Act of 1963 the General Assembly clearly intended their main mission to be occupational and technical education. But for the first several years a majority of the associate degrees awarded were in liberal arts. More recently, however, there has been a shift toward the technical programs—spurred no doubt by job market considerations—so that in 1976 almost 60 percent of the associate degrees were in that area.

The State Board has, under the 1963 Act, the ulti-

CHART 11

COMMUNITY COLLEGE ENROLLMENTS (OCCUPATIONAL VS TRANSFER)



mate authority to make policy for the community colleges. It has chosen to use that authority sparingly. But the problems of the next decade may not permit such a laissez-faire approach. The board may soon be faced with the difficult problem of a county or school district seeking to escape its obligations as sponsor of a community college. That will raise a host of questions that have not been asked, let alone answered.

4. Private Colleges and Universities

Pennsylvania has been blessed with a wide variety of private postsecondary institutions, ranging from a University of Pennsylvania with 16,870 students and a budget of $311.4 million to a St. Fidelis College with 45 students and a budget of $250,000. It has been the policy of succeeding administrations, including the Shapp Administration, to do what they reasonably could, within constitutional and financial constraints, to keep the private sector alive and healthy in order to ensure variety and flexibility.

On the whole, the Pennsylvania scene has not been disfigured in recent years by acrimonious public debate between the public and private sectors; we are more fortunate than Massachusetts and New York in that respect. The credit for this belongs chiefly to the Pennsylvania Association of Colleges and Universities and a succession of college presidents, public and private, who have given vigorous and far-sighted leadership to that organization.

State support for the private sector takes several forms. Undergraduates attending private institutions can receive up to $1,200 per year in outright scholarships from the Pennsylvania Higher Education Assistance Agency (PHEAA). Last year grants to such students totalled over $21 million. The Higher Educational Facilities Authority enables private institutions to borrow at interest rates lower than they might otherwise have to pay. Private colleges are eligible for grants under Act 101 (see Page 33). And finally, beginning with fiscal year 1974-75, private colleges and universities have qualified for something called Institutional Assistance Grants (IAG).

Because the IAG program is new during my tenure, it is perhaps appropriate to say something more about it. The program was intended to recognize the fact that private colleges, in accepting scholarship students, incur costs which must be met from their own revenues. It therefore aimed to provide such colleges with $400 per year for each PHEAA student they ac-

cepted. Unfortunately, appropriations have not always permitted the $400 level to be reached.

I have supported the IAG program in principle, although I have qualms about the practice. It would be wise, in my judgment, to tie the size of the IAG grant to the level of support for the state colleges (or for the state colleges plus the state-relateds; a formula could easily be worked out). Such a tie would have two advantages. It would make allies rather than rivals out of the public and private sectors; and it would make it unnecessary to amend the legislation each time inflation makes a fixed dollar amount obsolete.

My other concern is that the state may someday seek to use its support of private education, however modest, as a means of coercing the private colleges and universities. There has been no such threat in this administration. But demagogues have achieved high office in this state before and doubtless will again. The question for the private colleges will then be, in taking the biscuit have they accepted a chain?

5. Proprietary Postsecondary Institutions

Pennsylvania is likewise blessed with a wide number and variety of proprietary institutions, offering both secondary and postsecondary programs, chiefly of a technical nature.

We have not had, with minor exceptions, the sorts of scandals—false advertising, outrageous charges, closings in mid-year—that have plagued some states and have caused Congress to look with a jaundiced eye at these institutions. But our record is not perfect.

We have tried to mesh the activities of these schools with the public sector in several ways. A representative of the proprietary segment sits on the 1202 Commission (see Page 31). By statute, public schools can contract with proprietary schools for vocational training. And students in two-year programs in proprietary schools leading to an associate degree can qualify for scholarship and loan assistance through PHEAA.

The private schools are regulated by four boards which make their administrative home in the Department of Education: the Board of Private Academic Schools, the Board of Private Trade Schools, the Board of Private Business Schools and the Board of Private Correspondence Schools. By statute these boards are dominated by persons drawn from the ranks of the private schools themselves. It is an awkward situation. If they regulate with too heavy

a hand, they are accused of seeking competitive advantage; if too lightly, of not having standards.

My own preference would be to abolish the four boards in their present form and to lodge their responsibilities either with the State Board of Education or with a single new board, a majority of whose members would not come from the ranks of the proprietary schools. We have talked about this for several years and done nothing.

C. UNFINISHED BUSINESS

1. Fewer Warm Bodies

As the chief problem in higher education in the 1950s and 1960s was expansion, so the chief problem in the next ten years will be contraction. Optimistic views about enrollments suggest that there will be 50,000 fewer full-time equivalent students in Pennsylvania colleges and universities in 1990; the pessimistic assumptions point to 100,000 fewer. Some of the difference can, perhaps, be made up by a greater influx of part-time adult learners—but only part.

As a result, competition for students will become intense. The last decade in Pennsylvania higher education has been characterized by relatively amicable relationships between the various segments (see Page 48). I predict that this condition will not last, and that the next decade will be characterized by some or all of the following phenomena:

a. Intensified competition for public funds;

b. Attempts to move into new programs which appear to have a potential for attracting new students;

c. Attempts to do business at new locations that promise to attract new students;

d. A proliferation of no-need scholarship awards in order to attract middle class students;

e. A further lowering of both the standards for admission or the standards for graduation, or both; and

f. Increasingly unscrupulous advertising for students.

Dealing with this situation would require statesmanship of a high order on the part of the department and the Council of Higher Education, even if the legal tools existed. But they do not. The State Board has substantial authority over the state colleges, some au-

thority with respect to the community colleges, largely untested authority with respect to the state-relateds and no authority at all with respect to the private colleges, except in limited areas. Moreover, on the evidence of the past five years, the willpower does not exist in the State Board or elsewhere to police what promises to be an increasingly acrimonious set of relationships. What will happen here is what happened with branch campus expansion in the 1950s and 1960s—the General Assembly will wait until the problem has become acute and will then pass legislation designed to deal with a situation that has gotten out of hand.

Perhaps I am too pessimistic. I hope so. Maybe PACU will extend its leadership to this domain. Maybe the State Board will muster the courage to exert itself in this area, even if it means stepping on some powerful toes. Maybe even the General Assembly will take note of what's ahead. But I wouldn't make any bets.

2. Governance of the State Colleges

The single greatest need for the state colleges in the next decade is to be accorded a greater measure of autonomy than they now can exercise. In short, they need the flexibility to use scarce resources wisely.

Presently the state colleges are an integral part of state government. Their budgets are state money; their employes are state employes; their internal procedures must conform in nearly every respect to state law.

There are two significant disadvantages with this state of affairs. The first is that the Department of Education is so preoccupied with the problems of the state colleges that it has only meager energy to devote to other segments of the system—and to the central question of how well the system is working as a whole. The second is that a whole host of decisions —whom to hire, what to pay them, what can be purchased and when and how—get made by the state colleges in ways that are cumbersome or just plain stupid.

To take only one example: I have spent many hours over the past two years dealing with the problem of "dual compensation." State college faculty, being Commonwealth employes, must abide by all of the rules pertaining to Commonwealth employes. One of those rules says that you cannot be paid from any other state source without the approval of the largely

mystical body known as the Executive Board. That may be a perfectly sensible rule as applied, say, to the Secretary of Education. But it makes no sense when applied to an assistant professor at a state college who is seeking to receive $200 for conducting a junior lifesaving program on Saturday mornings. And yet, until recently, that was the rule—and it required extraordinary exertion on my part to have the rule modified so as even to cover the majority of cases.

Anyone who seeks to change this absurd system will be told by the bureaucracy that the problem is not with the system but with the way it is being administered, and that if I will only be patient, we will change the rules so as to accord a greater measure of flexibility to the colleges. I would have listened to that argument five years ago—but I will not listen to it now. I have dealt with these people long enough to know to my sorrow that if there is any little piece of authority lying around, they will exercise it. Not only that, they will exercise it to the hilt. And the only way to prevent them from exercising it is to deny them the authority altogether.

There is a further difficulty. I have been arguing in favor not of independence, but of a greater measure of autonomy. The state colleges are public institutions; they receive substantial amounts of state money; and they certainly should not be allowed to move in directions that run seriously counter to major state objectives. How can this requirement be squared with the need for flexibility?

We attempted to deal with this issue in the various drafts of the Commonwealth University Bill which were before the General Assembly during the 1975-76 session. In particular, the bill provided that the Governor would name all members of the system's board; that the budget would come, as it presently does, through the Department of Education and the Budget Office on its way to the General Assembly; and that no capital projects could be undertaken without state approval. Moreover, the State Board of Education would continue to exercise general surveillance over the scope of academic programs offered by the state college system.

I concede the need for at least one additional form of state authority over the state college system. The ability to sign a union contract commits the Commonwealth to major expenditures over a period of several years. I do not think the state college system should be wholly autonomous in this respect; i.e., it should not be able to bind the Governor and the General

Assembly to labor relations agreements having fiscal consequences which they do not accept. In our very intense discussions of this issue over the past several months, within the department and with other officials of the Shapp Administration, we have been unable to agree upon any way of resolving this issue. I am afraid it is one of the pieces of unfinished business that I leave to my successor.

3. Lifelong Learning

One of the great disappointments of the past five years has been our inability to secure the passage of any legislation significantly expanding the support for various kinds of adult learning.

I continue to believe that there are many adult Pennsylvanians who would enjoy and profit by an opportunity to further their education if it were offered under circumstances in which they could take advantage of it. I am talking about housewives with small children; retired people; men and women on swing shifts; people seeking to polish job-related skills or to acquire new skills; and generally, all those adults for whom education represents the path to a better future.

In the 1973-74 session we offered the General Assembly the "Open College" bill. It went nowhere. In the 1975-76 session a revised version of the bill, entitled "Adult Opportunity and Career Education," went nowhere equally fast. In part, I blame the obtuseness of the colleges and universities, each convinced that they could do better on their own than as part of any joint effort. But a very heavy measure of responsibility must be my own—the failure to marshal any real political support in favor of the bill.

Under the circumstances, the best we can hope for is probably an expansion of the PHEAA scholarship program to part-time students. That at least would make it possible for more people to take advantage of whatever opportunities currently exist. It will not significantly expand those opportunities—at least in the near future. But to do so takes money, and it may well be that the money just isn't going to become available.

The current "system" continues in the meantime to fail us in a number of respects. It does not do very well at providing advice to adults about what opportunities are available. It does very little to help adults translate their previous school-and-work experience into measurable academic credits. And it

does nothing to insure a common market in academic credits throughout the Commonwealth; in fact, it is designed to do precisely the opposite, to insure that credits are as little transferable as possible in order to force people into taking further work at existing colleges and universities.

It will take an extraordinary effort, and more political skills than I was ever able to muster, to overcome the various obstacles to a rational statewide system of adult learning opportunities. I can only hope that my successor and future State Boards of Education will prove to have the skills we so sadly lacked.

Part III. STATE LIBRARIES

"Neglect" is probably the most accurate word with which to describe my relationships with the State Library. I found it impossible, given the press of other responsibilities, to pay more than casual attention to the State Library itself and to the system of public libraries of which it is the apex. To some extent this neglect was balanced by the deep involvement of David W. Hornbeck, my executive deputy for four years. But I cannot on balance be proud of my support for the library.

In spite of this, there were some positive developments. State support for public libraries increased by about 70 percent, from 5.3 million dollars in 1971 to 8.8 million dollars in 1975. The state's share of total library spending rose from 13.1 percent to 18.6 percent as a result.

Eight new county libraries opened in the past four years. More than 70 libraries in Pennsylvania are now linked by computer to a cataloguing service in Columbus, Ohio, increasing interlibrary loan opportunities. And a newly purchased fleet of vans, operated by the state, now makes interlibrary lending easier and more efficient.

On the negative side, the State Library itself is still far too dependent on federal funds. In the current year, about 35 percent of its $2.3 million operating budget is from federal sources. It is simply a matter of time before a federal audit finds that we have used federal funds for support of the central library to an inappropriate degree.

In spite of increased state financial support, both the State Library itself and many of the district and local public libraries are reeling under the impact of inflation. The State Library, for example, has had to eliminate its evening hours. Many local libraries are also finding it necessary to curtail service even more drastically.

Moreover, more than a million Pennsylvanians still have no access to a public library that meets minimum state standards, and some of these people have no access to any library at all.

The department has supported legislation to increase state aid to local, county and regional libraries and to give added help to economically depressed areas. This legislation did not move in the 1975-76 session but will be reintroduced early in 1977. Unless it is passed, there will be very little increase in State Library aid during the next two years, because the state is now at the ceiling under most sections of the present formula.

In many district and county libraries, the employes are part of no retirement system. This has handicapped libraries in employing and retaining qualified people. We have proposed making public library employes eligible to belong to the Public School Employes' Retirement System. The department is currently studying the costs to the state and others of such a move.

In 1976, the Library Development Council proposed a master plan for library development in Pennsylvania. Its principle feature was a restructuring of the governance system with greater authority in the council itself to make rules and regulations for all libraries in Pennsylvania receiving state aid. The proposal has evoked considerable opposition and appears to be dead at the present time.

A fundamental issue is whether the present placement of the State Library within the Department of Education is wise. In a department the size of the present one, library concerns do not easily achieve a central place on the agenda. The question is whether there are any workable alternatives.

One modest suggestion is to elevate the position of director of the State Library from its present level as a bureau director to that of a commissioner, on a par with the commissioners of basic and higher education. A second suggestion would remove the State Library from the department, combining it with the William Penn Museum and the state archives. A third would split the library off from the department into an independent agency of some sort.

I have no favorite solution to an obviously difficult question. What is clear is that under the present system, library services are not receiving the attention they deserve.

Part IV. THE DEPARTMENT OF EDUCATION ITSELF

A. STRUCTURE AND MANAGEMENT

I think I turn over to my successor a Department of Education which is better organized, better staffed and, in general, more flexible than the one I inherited five years ago. But getting there has not been easy.

I instituted a substantial reorganization of the department in 1972. My aims were to cut out "fat," to increase accountability and to promote flexibility. Among other things, it did the following: elevated the deputy for administration to an executive deputy, a genuine number two person for the department; created the new position of executive assistant for public affairs to oversee legislative activities here and in Washington; eliminated assistant commissioners as a separate layer of bureaucracy; and greatly reduced the number of operating bureaus, especially in basic education.

While these changes have helped us do what we wanted to do, they have left some scars. Several people who had been bureau directors were in effect demoted to division chiefs, and that took its toll in morale. But on the whole, I think the reorganization has served us well—and I see no need at the present time for any major changes. A new Secretary with different objectives might feel otherwise, however, and no one should be surprised if that turns out to be the case. My own philosophy is that organizations ought to be molded to fit the skills and objectives of management. This requires generally a far more relaxed attitude toward reorganization than has been displayed by the Office of Administration; instead of asking, "Why do you crazy people want to reorganize?" the question ought to be, "Is there any valid reason why the Secretary should not be allowed to reorganize the department?"

While we were revamping the department's structure, we were also trying to work out a set of priorities for the next few years. It became clear to me,

even before I had arrived in the department, that we could not do many of the things we had in mind and at the same time carry out all of our statutory responsibilities without a very much tighter set of controls than I found in January 1972. After extensive discussion within the department, we settled on 12 priorities which would guide our work for the following three years. They were:

1. To improve student performance in Educational Quality Assessment;
2. To strengthen curricula in law, politics, consumer education, the environment, fine arts and lifetime sports;
3. To establish an Executives Academy to improve school leadership and management capacities;
4. To create a Citizens Commission on Basic Education;
5. To improve educational opportunities for both minorities and women in both basic and postsecondary education;
6. To create an Open College, with easier access by nontraditional students to both traditional and nontraditional programs;
7. To redefine the mission(s) of the state colleges in line with current needs and opportunities;
8. To improve the quality of education in our correctional institutions;
9. To expand the quantity and quality of in-service opportunities for current classroom teachers;
10. To broaden the scope of field experiences available to both high school and postsecondary students;
11. To find ways of making more intelligent use of the human resources of the Department of Education; and
12. To carry out those responsibilities placed upon us by the General Assembly and the State Board of Education.

In restrospect, I think we may have bitten off more than we could chew; in spite of that, many of our priorities were finally achieved in whole or in part.

The next step was to translate those priorities into actual tasks for the staff of the department. This was largely the responsibility of the executive deputy, David W. Hornbeck, who worked out and secured my

approval to what came to be known as "Quality Performance Guides." These were essentially the objectives of the department, broken down first by major segments (basic education, higher education and administration), then by bureaus and ultimately into fragments of work for the several hundred professional staff in the department. Preparing QPGs has become an annual ritual which takes place in June and July of each year. There is some feeling in the department that the process is too elaborate, and I would recommend to my successor that she takes steps to streamline (but not to abandon) the whole system.

The final step in creating a workable management system involved personnel evaluation. We had previously been doing this by means of the usual Civil Service forms. I found them nearly useless: the qualities measured resembled the Boy Scout oath, and the evaluations were usually "excellent" or "very good" (which I learned to translate as "OK" and "not so hot"). Eventually we worked out a report of our own which meshed closely with the Quality Performance Guides; it came to be known as an "Employe Performance and Development Guide," or EPDG for short. It involved a narrative written by the professional employe in answer to nine (later six) standard questions, and a narrative written at the same time by the employe's supervisor. If the narratives are consistent, they are stapled together and become the employe's annual evaluation. If they are not, the two attempt to work out their differences with an appeal to the supervisor's immediate superior and ultimately, in theory anyway, to the Secretary.

The Civil Service Commission gave us a two-year trial run of the new system, later extended to a third year. It is my view that with whatever imperfections, it is so far superior to the present system being used by the Civil Service Commission that the Governor ought to give serious attention to using it for the whole state government.

As a result of these reforms, we have been able to turn out a constantly increasing volume of work with a constantly diminishing staff. Chart 12 suggests what I am talking about. The budget of the department has increased by almost 50 percent in the past six years; yet the number of people responsible for overseeing the expenditure of more than half of the Governor's general fund budget has decreased by almost one hundred.

CHART 12

DEPARTMENT OF EDUCATION STAFF

DATE	NUMBER OF FILLED POSITIONS
JANUARY 1, 1971	1,144
JANUARY 1, 1972	1,104
JANUARY 1, 1973	1,090
JANUARY 1, 1974	1,079
JANUARY 1, 1975	1,081
JANUARY 1, 1976	1,057
JANUARY 1, 1977	1,051

B. EQUAL OPPORTUNITY

We have taken seriously our responsibilities for equal opportunity and affirmative action. The number of women and minorities employed by the department in high positions has increased significantly over the past six years (see Chart 13), and we have attracted people with a wider diversity of backgrounds and points of view. I worry still that people from our two major metropolitan areas are not adequately represented on the staff. One of the difficulties has been the very low rate of turnover in the professional staff. It is a pity that those in charge of the department in the 1960s did not give a higher priority to affirmative action; had they done so at a time when staff was expanding rapidly with federal funds, the situation would be better than it is today.

Because the notion of affirmative action has been under attack in recent years, it is perhaps worth saying a word about what we meant by affirmative action, why we thought it important and how it worked. With us, affirmative action simply meant an extra effort to locate qualified people who were not well represented in the ranks of the department as I found it. In addition to the usual reasons, I supported a vigorous program because we needed a more cosmopolitan work force for both programmatic and symbolic purposes: i.e., if women are being shunted away from technical-scientific work, it is useful for women to be stationed at some key points in the Bureau of Vocational Education; and if local officials are to take seriously what the Secretary is saying about equal opportunity, it helps to have evidence of his sincerity in the form of department officials.

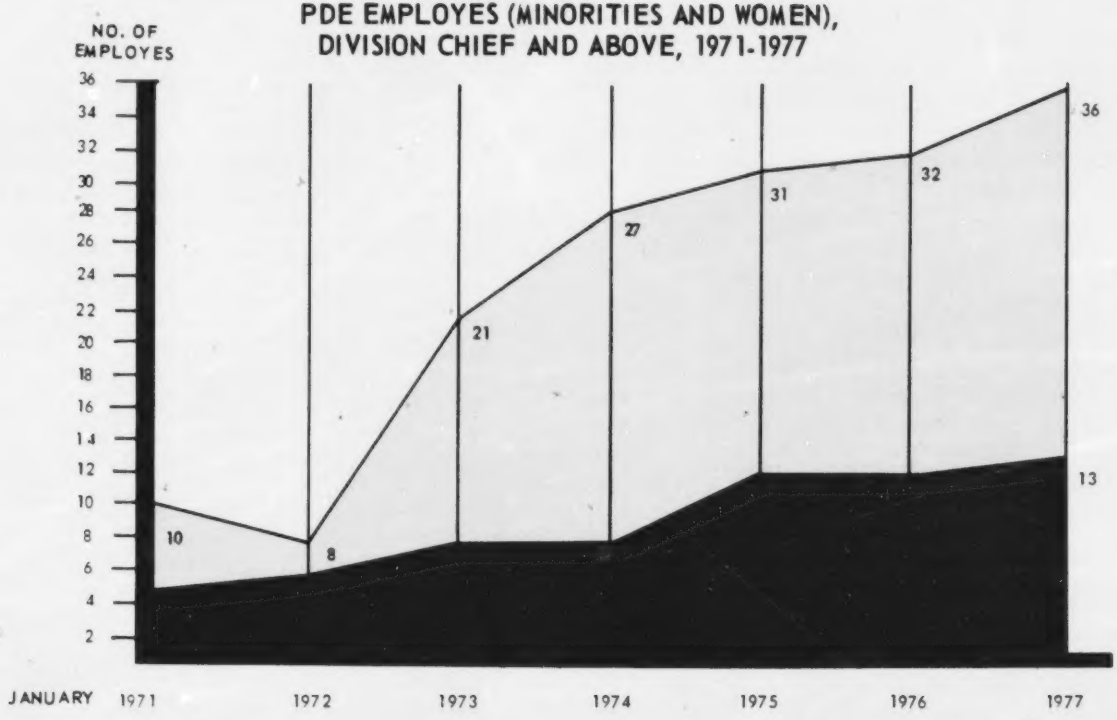
C. REVISION OF JOB QUALIFICATIONS

It has long been my view that governments and other employers insist far too often on educational credentials which are not reasonably related to people's work. This problem is getting worse rather than better; our schools and colleges, even our graduate schools, are full of young men and women who are there not because they are excited by the prospect of further formal education, but because they need the piece of paper which will be their exit prize.

Thinking it irresponsible to preach about these matters without being prepared to practice what we preach, we turned our attention early in 1972 to the job qualifications for professional positions in this department. My personnel staff rewrote many of

CHART 13

PDE EMPLOYES (MINORITIES AND WOMEN), DIVISION CHIEF AND ABOVE, 1971-1977



them to de-emphasize formal education requirements and to revise in some cases the types of experience required. When we finished, no job in the department was open only to holders of a particular degree; all could be filled by people with equivalent experience. The result, while not dramatic, has helped to open the department to the wider range of people who now occupy many of the top positions. I have to confess failure, however, in persuading other employers, public or private, to follow my example. The colleges and universities have such a vested interest in perpetuating these unnecessary credentials that I despair of major progress.

D. PUBLIC SCHOOL EMPLOYES' RETIREMENT BOARD

One of my minor accomplishments was to persuade the General Assembly in 1975 that the Secretary of Education ought not to be ex officio chairman of the Public School Employes' Retirement Board.

Until then, the Attorney General had interpreted the Retirement Code to require either the Secretary of Education or one of his three deputies to chair the board, which supervises the investment of Pennsylvania's largest public retirement system (over three billion dollars in assets). Partly because none of my deputies had any expertise in that direction, and partly because I felt that the retirement system needed close attention, I chaired it continuously for the first four years of my term as Secretary. I came to resent increasingly, however, the expenditure of time involved, and the fact that some of my colleagues on the board were clearly more interested in furthering the aims of the organizations which had sent them to the board than they were in the day-to-day business of the system itself. Nonetheless we brought about some real improvements during those four years: elimination of the backlog of retirement applications; an intelligent procedure for processing appeals from staff decisions; a much better system of internal accounting; and the feeble beginnings of diversification of investment advisors.

My one major disappointment in connection with the retirement fund was the continuing unwillingness of the board to deal with the Mellon Bank's monopoly of a $3 billion investment operation. In refusing to diversify the investment counselling services, the present board has demonstrated its incapacity to be in charge of such a complex and important operation. I do not look for much improvement until the two

major retirement systems (school and state) are merged and put under the control of board members with fiscal and business backgrounds who know how to manage a $3 billion retirement system—something the present board, whatever else can be said for it, clearly does not know how to do.

E. OPENNESS

A final point having to do with the department itself is the extent to which I have attempted to encourage openness in our dealings with the General Assembly, the press, and field and the general public. If, as I think, public education is the number one priority of state government, we cannot do too much to encourage public discussion of issues relating to it—even if the result is controversy and some delays.

These attempts at openness have taken a variety of forms. I myself have visited each of the 29 intermediate units three times during the past five years, meeting with superintendents, school board members, principals, teachers, students, the press and the concerned citizens. These trips have been exhausting, but they have helped give me a better idea of some of the problems facing our 29 intermediate units and our 505 school districts. In turn, I think I have given them a better understanding of my own philosophy and the priorities of the department. We also established, especially in basic education, a number of liaison committees—groups of people from various parts of the educational world who come to Harrisburg a few times each year to meet with me and my staff. These too have been helpful. Finally, we changed the department's chief publication from a glossy six-times-a year magazine, which was neither profound on the one hand nor timely on the other, to a biweekly tabloid that is at least more timely and in several cases has stirred a lively interest in some of the topics discussed.

I am far from confident that the battle on this front is permanently won. I worry about the demands on the Secretary required to sustain this sort of effort; I worry also about the possibility of stirring up expectations that can't be met. Nevertheless, I think we have to continue to deal with all who are interested in education as openly and frankly as we can, taking the consequences as they come.

F. UNFINISHED BUSINESS

On the subject of the department itself, I would like to comment on two outstanding problems which will

plague my successor. Unless they are solved, they will make it impossible to run the department with any degree of vigor and flexibility.

The first concerns the administrative budget of the department.

There is a popular view in the General Assembly and elsewhere that the Department of Education is an enormous bureaucracy. That is simply not the case. Discounting the employes of the state colleges (who really ought not be treated as employes of the state at all—see Page 51), we have about 950 employes. That is to be compared with 17,903 in PennDOT and 42,000 in the Department of Public Welfare. In this sense, we are one of the smaller departments on the Hill.

Moreover, our administrative budget is a very small part of the total budget of the department. Chart 14 shows the administrative budget in relation to the department's total budget for each of the last six years.

In each of the past five years our increase in administrative funds has been less than we needed just to pay the existing staff. This is the principal reason for the decline in staff that I have already mentioned. A good deal of nonsense has been uttered in the General Assembly—on both sides of the aisle, I regret to say—about bureaucrats and about the importance of taking money away from bureaucrats in Harrisburg and "putting it in the field where it will do some good." That is true only if you don't pass any statutes, or don't want the statutes which you have already passed to be enforced. I have been besieged by members of the General Assembly over the past several years demanding to know, in a variety of situations, why the department isn't "doing something about it?" Answer: We haven't got the staff to do anything about it.

The other problem concerns the Civil Service system. It is a disaster. There are many problems; here are four that seriously affected the Department of Education:

1. Not enough people in the department are exempt. At the present time, eleven of the 950 department employes are non-Civil Service. That simply does not give a Secretary enough flexibility. In fact, everyone down to and including bureau directors "make policy" and therefore ought to be exempt. I have asked the Attorney General to rule that way, because I think that's what the statutes require. But

CHART 14

PENNSYLVANIA DEPARTMENT OF EDUCATION
GENERAL FUND APPROPRIATIONS
(Dollar Amounts in Thousands)

YEAR	TOTAL APPROPRIATIONS	ADMINISTRATION APPROPRIATION	PERCENT
1971-72	$1,692,558	$10,351	0.61%
1972-73	1,845,940	11,548	0.63%
1973-74	1,993,536	12,140	0.61%
1974-75	2,238,345	13,263	0.60%
1975-76	2,349,047	13,863	0.60%
1976-77	2,398,514	14,476	0.61%

if he declines, then the General Assembly ought to consider exempting another 15 or 20 positions in the department from the Civil Service system.

2. The system itself, even where it legitimately applies, is far too inflexible. The *rule of three* (the requirement that you hire from among the three highest qualifying scores) makes no sense where there are large numbers of applicants with scores bunched very closely together. Veterans' preference now works in wholely irrational and unforeseen ways. The difficulty of hiring people provisionally (one of the best ways of pursuing affirmative action, by the way) and then bringing them into the system has caused us to waste much time and energy in the past five years.

3. The Civil Service system does not mesh with the policies set forth in the various labor contracts between the Commonwealth and the unions representing Commonwealth employes. My own view is that we ought to abolish the Governor's Personnel Office, the Civil Service Commission and the Personnel Office in the Office of Administration and reconstitute all of them into a single personnel office under the Governor's control that would run a unified, rational personnel system with all policy positions exempted from the classified service. I would hope that the next administration, of whatever party, would tackle this crucial range of issues.

4. Now that most state employes are covered by union contracts, we ought to reexamine the philosophy of the automatic annual increment. State employes cannot have it both ways. They cannot expect to get bargained-for increases on top of automatic annual increments. All benefits should come via collective bargaining, and should be "paid for" by means of concessions to management on other fronts.

Part V. SOME CONCERNS FOR THE FUTURE

It seems appropriate to conclude this report with some comments about some issues which have come to seem increasingly important to me. I have singled three issues out of many because the way they are addressed will profoundly affect the nature of our public schools and colleges for years to come.

A. THE ISSUE OF SIZE

One often hears people say, "Education has become big business." And indeed it has. Usually the remark is made by someone who is suggesting that schools ought to be run more efficiently. And they should be.

But the question of size has, if I may put it this way, another dimension.

One characteristic of institutions is that much of their energy goes into perpetuating their own existence as opposed to serving the interests they were created to serve. And I add as a second characteristic that the bigger the institution, the greater the proportion of its total energies going into "institutional maintenance"—otherwise known as self-preservation.

Take the case of the public schools. Their ostensible purpose is teaching kids. But as school districts got bigger, and as individual schools got bigger, the job of mere survival became more difficult; and more and more of the energies of the board and top administrators went into physical plant, meeting a payroll and so on.

The school consolidation movement is an unhappy example of what happens when the American infatuation with size and efficiency gets out of hand.

For years it has been one of the dogmas of conventional educational wisdom—fortified by the authority of people like James B. Conant, the former President of Harvard—that small schools were incompatible with educational quality. Conant's view —set forth in a series of influential books published between 1950 and 1960—was that a high school with a graduating class of less than one hundred could not

offer the range of courses necessary to prepare one for college. And so school consolidation was pushed as a way of improving academic quality and decreasing per pupil costs, it being argued that in larger schools you could spread certain fixed costs over a larger number of students, thus lowering per pupil costs.

Pennsylvania has been in the forefront of the school consolidation movement. Statutes passed in the Lawrence, Scranton and Shafer Administrations have cut the number of districts from over 2,000 to the present 505. And *within* school districts we have tended (though not required to do so by law) to build bigger and bigger schools; the average size of a graduating class has risen from 150 in 1960 to 251 in 1975 (see Chart 15).

What have been the results?

A study about to be published ("The Failure of Rural School Consolidation") suggests that consolidation has achieved neither of its two principal goals: the improvement of quality or the reduction of costs. The study is based on several states (not including Pennsylvania) and a reanalysis of the Conant data.

My own hunch is that the authors of the recent study are right about costs and wrong about programs. But my argument goes one step farther. I'm prepared to say, on the basis of what I now know, that even if the proponents of school consolidation were basically correct on these two issues, they overlooked some serious drawbacks to big schools and big districts which have only gradually become evident.

1. Cost of Transportation

The cost of transporting pupils rose from $30 million in 1960 to $148 million in 1975; from 3.5 percent to 4.3 percent of total school budgets (see Chart 16). Not all of this increase is attributable, of course, to bigger schools and longer bus rides. Increases in the price of gasoline and the duty to transport children to private schools are also involved. But in building large schools to which children must be transported long distances, we have given a hostage to the future which we may deeply regret.

2. Effectiveness of School Boards

In reducing the number of districts from over 2,000 to 505, we have cut the number of school board members from approximately 15,000 to 4,500. So today,

CHART 15

SIZE OF GRADUATING CLASS VS. NUMBER OF SCHOOLS

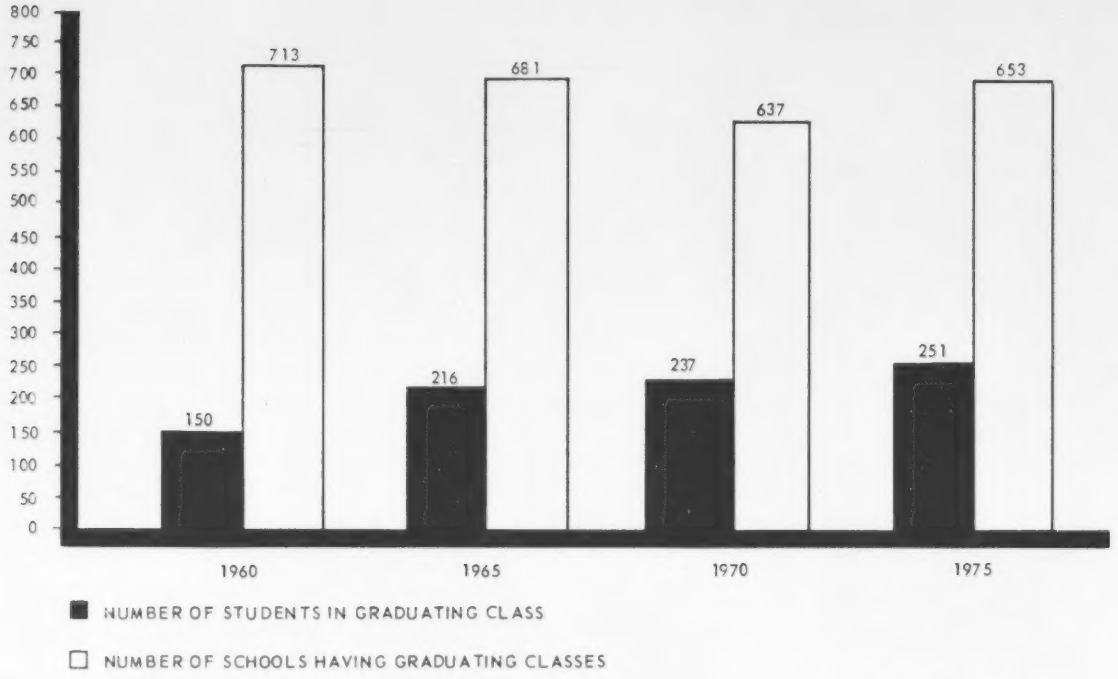
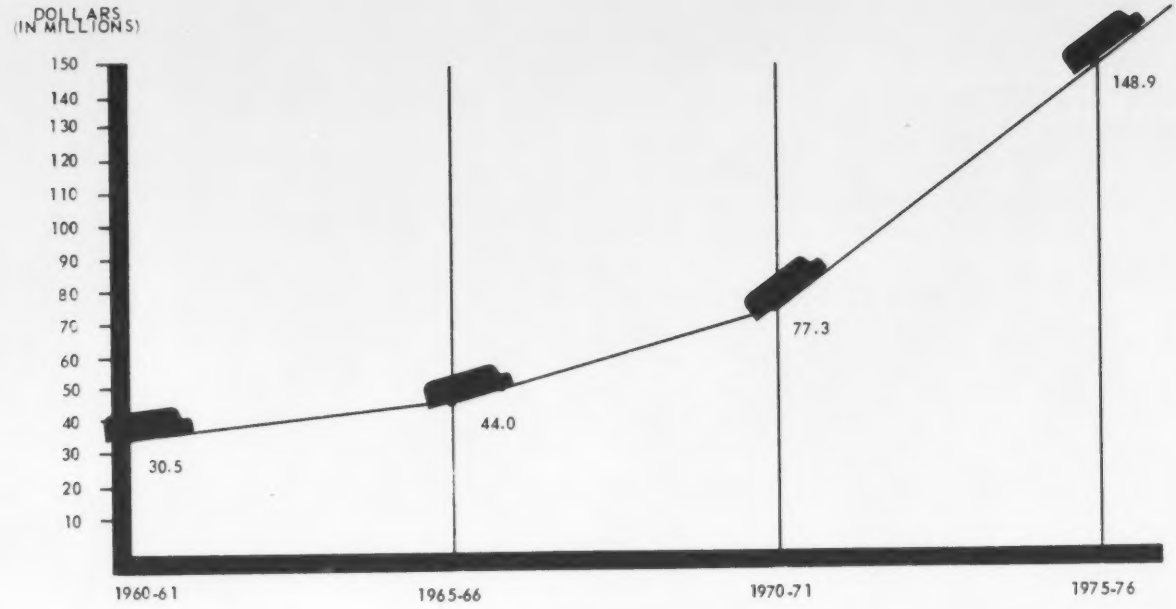


CHART 16

TRANSPORTATION COSTS



10,000 fewer Pennsylvanians are receiving each year the training in self-government that goes with being a school board member. And there is another, less measurable weakness: I suspect that school board members in the remaining larger districts are more apt to defer to the judgment of the superintendent and his or her staff of "experts"—with not altogether happy results.

3. Parental Involvement

As everyone knows, the PTA has been in a steady decline for the past ten to fifteen years. Various reasons have been assigned. I'm convinced that one of them, sometimes overlooked, is the growth of big districts and big schools. Parents will not find it easy to attend a PTA meeting (or a parent conference) when the school is not just down the street but fifteen miles away; and parents without much formal education will be especially reluctant to go to a Taj Mahal that proclaims "this is a temple of learning, experts are in charge." This is one of the problems that Project 81 (see Page 22, above), with its emphasis on community involvement in the schools, is trying to tackle.

4. Teacher Morale

I don't think it's accidental that the years of school consolidation have been years of increasing teacher militancy. Bigger schools mean teachers who feel that they have less and less influence over the conditions under which they work. Hence, they have turned increasingly to unions for the improvements and protections they could no longer achieve individually.

5. Student Apathy and Destructiveness

In talking with student leaders from all over the state during the past five years, I am struck by how often they referred to "student apathy" as a leading problem. But is this really surprising? Big schools are a great arena for the big shots—the captain of the football team, the head cheerleader—but they may not be very good medicine for the average girl or boy who, like the teacher, feels increasingly powerless. And is it far-fetched to think that violence and the random destruction of property are more likely to occur in big schools?

I am not arguing against the degree of school consolidation which has already taken place. We cannot repeal history. I *am* emphasizing certain negative features of bigness in education and arguing that these need to be taken into account. How?

a. There should be no more consolidation; the movement toward bigness has gone far enough, at least in Pennsylvania.

b. Districts should think twice about doing what some have already done—closing several "obsolete" elementary schools and building one large central school serving the whole district. The savings—in heating bills, custodial services, etc.—may be more than outweighed by the increase in transportation costs and some of the less tangible costs I have referred to.

c. Where very large districts already exist, boards and superintendents must contrive ways of delegating more authority to the building principal and his or her teachers. Some districts have already done this, and in the Executive Academy (see Page 18) we have tried to show how it can be done. Increasingly I think that this is the single most important step we could take to improve the learning environment of our schools. But it runs counter to the desire of some school boards and superintendents to delegate as little authority as possible.

d. Where very large school buildings already exist, principals and their faculties must contrive ways of creating smaller "learning environments," to borrow a useful phrase from my current employers. Several high schools in Pennsylvania have tried to create "schools within schools." My impression is that they have not been very successful, i.e., that the students consider that they are part of a school of 2,000, not a mini-school of 500. But we must persevere.

Although my comments on this issue have focused on the public schools, the problem of bigness is equally serious in the public colleges and universities. It is especially acute at Penn State, Temple and Pitt, which currently have 63,000, 34,000 and 33,000 students, respectively. And it is beginning to be serious at the larger state colleges, especially Indiana, Edinboro and West Chester.

The problem is the same one I've already referred to: the bigger the institution, the more its energies are focused on survival and growth (or, in this era, stability). Colleges often describe their mission in terms

of "teaching, scholarship and service." People debate learnedly and with passion the priorities among these three. But in a very real sense, the debate is irrelevant; most of the institution's energies—especially at the leadership level—are going into survival; only what can be spared goes into thinking about the quality of teaching or scholarship or service to the community and the state.

There are no easy remedies. Declining enrollments represent both a threat and an opportunity. They are an opportunity to emphasize quality over quantity, and a threat that in the name of a spurious "efficiency" we will go on playing the same game. Suppose, for example, that full-time enrollments in the state colleges drop from 77,000 to 60,000 in the next ten years, as seems likely to happen. I can foresee intense pressures to close one or two colleges to effect a "savings" rather than trying to reduce the size of the larger colleges.

One final point on this issue. There is a tendency—dangerous, though hardly surprising—to treat schools and colleges like factories. We talk about "cost effectiveness" and "productivity" and about "turning out" students, as though they were so many widgets or nails. But they are not widgets or nails; they are human beings; and what principally distinguishes them from the products of industry is that they have minds and hearts. Education is a two-way street, and except for limited purposes cannot be usefully thought about as a branch of industry. Every ten-penny nail ought to be just like every other ten-penny nail; but students are alike only as they share in a common humanity, a fact we have neglected to our sorrow.

B. EDUCATION AND EMPLOYMENT

I begin this brief discussion from the premise that both schools and colleges have a legitimate interest in preparing young people to take their places in the world of work. My interest, therefore, is not in the relationship between general or liberal education on the one hand and vocational or professional education on the other, or even in their respective claims. It is, more narrowly, to look at how we go about preparing people for work and, more particularly, to examine the sorts of educational barriers we fling across entrance into the world of work.

It is clear that educational prerequisites loom larger on the horizon than they did fifty or even twenty-five years ago. A high school diploma is now required

where none used to be; a college degree where formerly a high school diploma sufficed; and for some positions, graduate work or even a doctorate is now necessary or desirable.

This is so no matter where you look. I have known of several searches for new school superintendents where only Ed.D.s survived the original screening (this usually happens where the board is unwise enough to rely on a consultant, who often has close ties to a graduate school of education). The more advanced police forces now require or at least prefer an associate degree. And on and on.

Now to some extent all this makes sense. The world *is* more complicated (alas!) than it was in 1925 or 1950; certain skills—i.e., some rudimentary understanding of computers—may be necessary in occupations where it would not have been in the "good old days." To the extent that demanding credentials is a response to these forces, we cannot oppose history.

But other, less legitimate forces are clearly at work. One is cost. If you are personnel director of a medium-sized corporation, and you know that an advertisement for salespeople is likely to bring 1,000 applicants though you have only ten vacancies, the temptation to say "only college graduates need apply," thereby reducing the applicant pool to say, 300, is probably overwhelming. And so the limitations creep in.

Another force at work is the law—or what is understood to be the law. In our increasingly litigious society, decisions—especially decisions about hiring and promotion—must appear to have a rational basis. And what more rational basis, in a nation long infatuated with formal education, than a degree or diploma? And so more limitations creep in.

I would not be raising this issue if this were all there were to it—a proliferation of credentialling requirements, supported in part by necessity and in part by less legitimate forces. But there is more to it—far more. Consider the following:

1. As a result of all this, an increasing number of young people are emerging from our colleges and universities overprepared for the only jobs they can obtain. Along with a college degree, in our society anyway, go certain expectations—about salary, promotions, the nature of the work and the quality of one's peers. These expectations, in the present state of our economy anyway, *cannot be met*. The result is likely to be increasing personal frustration, with

uncertain social and political consequences.

2. As college-trained people are forced to take jobs which formerly they would have disdained, high school graduates find themselves excluded from an ever-widening sector of the job market. And the effects are most severe on those with less than a high school education. This situation undoubtedly accounts for some of the "structural unemployment" which economists have been pointing to for the last decade or so.

3. Although in one sense many young people are overprepared for work, in another sense they are—despite their degrees, diplomas and certificates—less useful than they might be. It is the nature of the academic world to underestimate the degree of art that enters into almost every role. I am prepared to believe, other things being equal (which they frequently aren't), that a Ph.D. in chemistry is likely to make a better research chemist than somebody who has only an M.S. I doubt, however, that a master's degree in criminology makes you a better parole officer. And there is no evidence to support the notion that a college degree is crucial to success as a computer programmer.

In my darker moments I think that if the brick had just been invented, and a faculty committee had been asked to construct a curriculum for training bricklayers, what you'd get (three years later) would be a four-year B.S. in bricklaying in which, during the final semester, you would be permitted to watch someone else laying bricks and, if you were very fortunate, help mix the mortar.

4. As a result of all this, we are probably investing in postsecondary education resources which cannot be justified in terms of their economic return. Let me be clear: I am not talking about the personal satisfactions involved, which may be great, or about certain other noneconomic payoffs (i.e., a heightened sense of civic duty), though I think they are often exaggerated. The point isn't that these resources are being badly used in any absolute sense; it is a question of alternatives. Why, for example, does Pennsylvania provide scholarships of up to $1,200 per year for each young person wanting to pursue an associate or baccalaureate degree, and nothing to the young person wanting to become a plumber or a diesel mechanic? I agree with John Gardner—we need good plumbers just as badly as we need good philosophers;

but you'd never know that from looking at the structure of incentives in our society.

5. Finally, the unbridled growth of credentialism has been harmful to those very groups, especially women and blacks, who have historically been underrepresented in the ranks of diploma and degree-holders. Blacks, for example, are 11 percent of the population of the United States; they hold 3 percent of the baccalaureate degrees, 1.2 percent of the master's degree and 0.4 percent of the doctoral degrees. To some extent, the very progress that blacks and women have made in moving up the academic ladder has been cancelled out by the fact that the ladder itself has in the meantime been extended by several rungs.

What is to be done?

Again, there are no easy answers.

I have come, slowly and somewhat painfully, to the conclusion that the law is not a solution. In *Griggs v. Duke Power Company*, the Supreme Court of the United States said that examinations could not be used as a screening device for promotions where (1) the examination tests knowledge unrelated to the job, and (2) the results are racially discriminatory.

At first I was enthusiastic about this result, and went so far as to have introduced into the Pennsylvania Senate a bill which said: "No employer, public or private, may require as a condition of employment or promotion any degree, diploma, certificate or other evidence of educational achievement not reasonably related to the work to be performed." But my enthusiasm has waned as I have seen the results of other attempts to regulate employment policies from Washington. So let's not legislate against credentials —however tempting that might be.

In fact, I suspect the meritocracy is here to stay, and the best we can do is modify its stupider features. To this end we should be working to include practical experience, as appropriate, in academic programs, and to ensure access to the system on the part of adults who have been excluded from it. In the end, the economy will probably do what we have failed to do —bring about some reasonable degree of congruity between people's expectations and the realities of the job market.

C. THE FEDERAL SYSTEM

The federal system, at least in education, is seriously deranged. Washington is doing things it ought not to

be doing (for example, pretending it can do something about violence in the schools). It is doing things it should be doing but in ways that are self-defeating, as in current legislation for handicapped children. And it is neglecting matters of legitimate federal concern, for example, the quality of school and college instruction in foreign languages and foreign affairs generally. The states, in exasperation, are contriving new and in some cases palpably unconstitutional ways of frustrating federal policy. It adds up to a mess.

Some of the fault lies with the states. We have often not put our case very strongly in Washington. We have sometimes neglected doing what we are angry about being pushed to do. And our reactions to the encroachments of the federal government have sometimes taken unwise forms—cf., the attempt of the Pennsylvania legislature to "reappropriate" all federal dollars flowing to the state.

But some of the blame lies with the federal government itself—both the Congress and the bureaucrats in HEW and the Office of Education. Let me give examples of each.

In 1975 Congress passed the grandiosely-titled "Education for All Handicapped Children Act." It is a 24-page attempt to set forth the principles governing the education of the handicapped. Most of those principles—due process hearings, individual plans, education in the last restrictive environment—are not in themselves wrong. What's wrong is that in Pennsylvania a federal government that is currently contributing about 5 percent of the cost of educating handicapped kids is trying to call 50 percent of the tune.

Congress is not alone in these illusions of grandeur. In August of 1975 the Office of Civil Rights put out, without prior notice, a regulation governing record-keeping in cases of student discipline. It was to take effect, in Pennsylvania, the following week. It required mammoth amounts of paperwork. By screaming loudly, some of my colleagues and I got the whole thing postponed for a year and modified slightly. Even as modified, it represents a federal intrusion into an area of doubtful propriety.

Again, the question arises—what is to be done?

Let me begin by laying down some basic principles which I think ought to govern federal policy for education during the Carter Administration:

1. The primary responsibility for public education

is with the states. This is so for constitutional reasons—because that's where state constitutions put the responsibility; for fiscal reasons—because the federal share of public education K-12 is unlikely to rise above 10 percent even in a Democratic administration; and for practical reasons—because, frankly, there are severe limits to what the federal government can effectively do.

2. In view of all this, the federal government should attempt to exert influence in a limited number of areas rather than, as at present, popping off in all directions. A sensible agenda would include:

a. protecting constitutional rights;

b. an advocacy role on behalf of those segments of the population—the poor and the handicapped especially—who have historically not had equal access to public education;

c. easing the effects of federal activity on schools and colleges (cf., impact aid, refugees from Southeast Asia);

d. promoting studies in areas for which the federal government has a particular responsibility (foreign languages, international affairs);

e. research, development and dissemination (NIE); and

f. strengthening the leadership capacity of the states (cf., Title V; Sec. 842 of 93-380).

3. Finally, from the state and local point of view, the question of *how* these policies are carried out is almost as important as the policies themselves. On this score I would offer the following advice:

a. Where possible, Washington ought to work through the fifty states and six territories. That's hard enough; trying to deal directly with 16,500 local districts is insane.

b. In all cases the federal government ought to seek the advice of state and local authorities before imposing new burdens. In any case, it should impose those burdens with enough warning so that we can adjust to the fiscal and administrative problems involved.

c. Washington should seek to control only the expenditure of federal funds, not state and local money, except where constitutional rights are clearly involved. By the same token, state legis-

latures ought not to impose their priorities on the expenditure of federal funds (except perhaps where federal law clearly contemplates some discretion at the state level).

d. Congress and HEW should bear in mind that the test of the wisdom of federal intervention at any point is not merely the validity of the particular intervention; it is also whether that action, *taken together with all others*, imposes undue burdens on state and local school systems.

e. Finally, Washington should avoid legislating and regulating in terms of the worst case. I'm tired of being told by federal officials—by way of justifying some new adventure in regulation—"We know it's not necessary in Pennsylvania, but Louisiana is a mess." In that case, go after Louisiana; but have some respect for those states, especially in the industrial northeast, that have been in the vanguard—often, in fact, far ahead of Washington.

How are these various agendas to be achieved?

I am now convinced that it cannot be done by the Secretary of Education of Pennsylvania, acting alone, or by the Secretary acting in concert with the chiefs of the other 55 states and territories. The forces on the side of intervention are too strong.

Only the active support of Governors and state legislators is going to stem the tide. That, and a growing conviction on the part of Americans generally that the federal system is worth saving. The central question is whether we still believe that a substantial measure of authority and responsibility should rest with the states and their municipalities, or whether we have surrendered to the illusion that all problems can be solved on the banks of the Potomac. We could do worse than begin our third century by reaffirming our confidence in the wisdom of the framers of our Constitution, who created "A Nation of States."